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CONTEMPORARY MEMOIRS

OF

RUSSIA,

FROM THE YEAR 1727 TO 1744.

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BY

GENERAL CHRISTOPHER HERMANN V. MANSTEIN,

AN OFFICER OF DISTINCTION IN THE RUSSIAN SERVICE.

FIRST EDITED IN ENGLISH BY DAVID HUME,

AND NOW RE-EDITED, COMPARED WITH THE ORIGINAL FRENCH, AND ILLUSTRATED WITH BRIEF NOTES,

BY

A HERTFORDSHIRE INCUMBENT.

LONDON:
LONGMAN, BROWN, GREEN, AND LONGMANS.
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PREFACE.

THE Memoirs of General Manstein were first published in London in the year 1770, in quarto, under the auspices of the celebrated historian, David Hume, who prefixed to the volume an advertisement, in which he states that they were sent to him from Berlin by the Earl Marshal of Scotland, with a desire that they should be published in England. "They were originally," says Hume, "composed in the French language; but as the author was a foreigner, and a military man, they were less remarkable for elegance of expression, than for candour, good-sense, and impartiality. For this reason, as the bookseller thought that an edition in English would be more agreeable to the British reader than the original French, I gave my consent to the publication of the work in the present translation, and I hope it will prove both entertaining and instructive. It contains the history of Russia during an interesting period, which is not generally known. The narrative breathes a manly spirit, which will not easily evaporate

in any translation. And as the work is authentic, it seems well entitled to the attention of the public."

Unfortunately the bookseller to whose opinion Hume thus deferred, entrusted the task of translation to most incompetent hands. In spite of its intrinsic interest as a faithful transcript of Russian policy during the most eventful period of the history of that country by the pen of one who played a very important part in it, the work seems to have excited scarcely any attention in England. This was no doubt mainly owing to the very wretched character of the version, which seems to have been executed by different persons, some of whom possessed very little knowledge of the language from which they were translating, and as little skill in the use of the one into which they were rendering. On the Continent the effect was very different. A German translation from the English volume appeared at Leipzic in the beginning of the next year. In the course of it, an edition in French, professedly from the original manuscript of the author, was published at Amsterdam. The editor of this, M. Huber, asserts that the copy from which he printed came into his hands from the possession of an intimate friend of the writer. It contains several passages, amounting on the whole to twenty or thirty pages, of very different lengths, and very different degrees of interest, which do not appear in the English edition. The latter, according to Huber,

had been mutilated. In many instances, perhaps in most, this was probably the case; but not, in my opinion, in all. It seems to me likely that some of the passages which are found exclusively in the French edition are additions to the original manuscript, made — in one instance at least — subsequently to the death of the author.

To reprint a version so bad as that of 1770 was obviously impossible: otherwise, I should have preferred to do so, on account of the undeniable authority its original possessed as coming direct from the hands of the Earl Marshal. This individual was the elder brother of the General Keith who appears so favourably in Manstein's narrative. He was attainted for being concerned in the rebellion of 1715, and took refuge in Prussia, where he remained through life the intimate and confidential friend of Frederic, who made him governor of Neufchâtel.* As it was necessary to revise the version, and the original no longer exists, the only course was to correct it by the French edition of Amsterdam, — an extremely scarce book. This I have accordingly done, but not being fully satisfied of the genuineness of the whole of the additions, I have thought it only right to point them out in every instance where they are of any importance. There

* In the year 1761, he revisited Scotland with some thoughts of remaining; but in a few days he changed his mind, and returned to Potsdam, where he died in 1778 at the age of 86.

are also a few cases, where two or three sentences exist in the English edition, which are wanting in the French. These I have also preserved generally, distinguishing them by placing them between brackets. They occur mostly towards the end of the volume, and are very likely to have been additions by the hand of one of the Keiths.

In 1772 another edition in French appeared at Lyons. The text, so far as I have examined it, is identical with that of the Amsterdam edition; but it is printed in two octavo volumes instead of one. It, too, is an extremely scarce book.

The notes which appear in the Amsterdam edition I have translated and appended to the text. Some of them proceed from the author of the Memoirs, others from M. Huber. The latter are (he tells us) mainly drawn from Büsching's *Magazin fur die neue Historie und Geographie*, published at Hamburg in 1767.

In the Memoirs the author expressly confines himself to treating of events which happened while he was in the country. He added a supplement containing a sketch of the internal progress of Russia from the time of Peter I to the period comprehended in the Memoirs. This is in itself interesting; but the interest is of so different a character from that of the Memoirs themselves, that it seemed hardly worth while to increase the expense of the volume by its addition.

The reader will perhaps be glad of a slight outline of

the author's life, as a guide to the opportunities which he possessed for acquiring information on the topics which he handles. He was born at Petersburg on Sept. 1st, 1711. His family was of Bohemian origin, and had emigrated into Prussia to avoid religious persecution. His father entered the service of Peter I. of Russia, and became a lieutenant-general in the army, and governor of Revel. His mother was Dorothea von Ditmar, a lady of a Swedish family of rank, which possessed estates in Livonia. He was educated at home till the age of thirteen, when he entered the college at Narva. From thence he passed into the corps of cadets, established by the King of Prussia, and after remaining there three years took service in the Prussian army. In the year 1736, he returned to Revel to pay a visit to his father, who was anxious that he should take service in Russia; but the younger Manstein, whose merits appear to have been highly appreciated in his adopted country, declined to do so from motives of gratitude to his Prussian patron. Proceeding, however, to Petersburg to visit his maternal uncle, M. Ditmar, the Swedish minister at that court, he was presented by him to the Empress Anne, who, being much pleased with him, renewed the proposition which his father had just made, and on receiving a similar answer, replied that she would herself request the King of Prussia to allow him to transfer his services to her. Under these favourable auspices he was made a captain in the Petersburg regiment of guards,

having been only a lieutenant in the Prussian service, and forthwith joined the army which marshal Munich was assembling in the Ukrain, in order to invade the Crimea. He received a wound at the storming the lines of Perekop. During the winter 1736-7, he was employed in defending the lines of the Ukrain against the forays of the Tartars, a service of which he gives a very graphic description. He accompanied Munich through the campaigns of 1737, 1738 and 1739. In the winter of the last year he became attached to Mademoiselle de Fink, the daughter of the grand equerry of the court of Russia, whom, on the 30th of January, 1741, he married, his fortunes having in the meantime improved, through the part he took in the *coup d'état* by which the duke of Courland was expelled from the regency. In the campaign of Finland, which he made under marshal Lacy, he decided the fortune of the day at the battle of Wilmanstrand, by an opportune attack which he conducted at the head of two Russian regiments on the left wing of the Swedes. He was again wounded on this occasion, and obliged to return to Petersburg, where the regent presented him with a year's pay in acknowledgment of his bravery.

After the revolution which placed the Princess Elizabeth on the throne, the estates conferred on Manstein by the Princess Anne were confiscated, his regiment taken from him, and he was offered in its place nothing but an honourable exile as colonel of a regiment in Siberia. He

succeeded, however, in obtaining, in lieu of this post, the command of another quartered at Weissenstein in Livonia. But his part in the *coup d'état* of 1740, had made him an implacable enemy in the person of count Bestucheff, now chancellor; and the annoyances resulting from this circumstance at last determined him to leave the service of Russia. This decision was hastened by a false accusation of treason brought against him in revenge by a Russian officer in his regiment, whom he had been compelled to put in arrest for repeated misconduct. On his trial he was honourably acquitted, his accuser even confessing the motive which had induced him to make the charge. Manstein, however, not being willing to subject himself to a repetition of such treatment, requested permission to quit the service. The empress declined this, in terms flattering to him, but did not offer to restore the estates of which he had been deprived. He determined therefore not to stay, and taking advantage of a six months' furlough to leave the country, he wrote from Lubeck to the empress, absolutely resigning his commission, and assigning as the reason the persecution to which he had been subjected by his enemy, the chancellor. She again refused to accept his resignation, and endeavoured by promises and threats to induce him to return. But knowing that he had gone too far to be forgiven by his implacable foe, he resolutely refused to do this. Bestucheff upon this imprisoned the elder Manstein, and compelled the old man to write to his

son to command him to return. But Manstein, seeing plainly that his father was writing under constraint, still refused. Bestucheff then ordered that he should be condemned in his absence by a court-martial. But the German generals in the Russian service, knowing the real state of the case, refused to take part in this proceeding: the attempt was given up, and the elder Manstein released, not, however, before hardship and mortification had undermined his health and sowed the seeds of consumption, of which he died in 1747.

On leaving Russia, Manstein entered the service of the King of Prussia, and accompanied him in the campaign of 1745. Distinguishing himself highly in the command of a battalion of grenadiers, the king made him his aide-de-camp, and took him with him to Saxony, where he appointed him governor of Zittau. After the peace of Dresden, he settled at Potsdam, and enjoyed in the highest degree the favour of Frederic. It was while resident there that he began to write his Memoirs, at the request of friends to whom he had shown some fragmentary portions.

In the campaign of 1757, Manstein, who had been made a major-general three years before, highly distinguished himself against the Austrians in Bohemia. At the battle of Prague he commanded the right wing of the army under general Schwerin. But on the 18th of June in the same year, he received a wound in the left arm, and although the injury was not so severe as to prevent his

remaining on the ground until the end of the day, the king, who was much attached to him, unfortunately insisted upon his going to Dresden, for the sake of surgical treatment. On his way thither with thirty other wounded officers, under an escort of 100 men, he was attacked by a number of Austrian hussars and Croats. He posted his little force on an eminence, and made a barrier of his carriages, but was overpowered by numbers, and fell dead in the arms of his eldest son, pierced by a ball through his chest.

He is described as of a tall person, and hardy constitution, capable of enduring any amount of fatigue. He never slept more than five hours at a time; but he had the power of commanding sleep at will at any hour of the day or night. His extreme vigilance obtained for him in Russia the sobriquet of "the officer of the day," there being no time and no place at which there was any certainty of not meeting him. With this activity was combined a decided taste for reading, and an acquaintance with the Latin, French, Italian, German, Swedish, and Russian languages. In his desk were even found several papers upon Polybius; so little did he share the contempt which some military authorities appear to entertain for all knowledge which is gained in the closet. He also possessed both a talent and a fondness for teaching, by which his own children benefited. Humane in war as well as brave, he made himself beloved by the inhabitants of the

very countries in which his troops were quartered; and he was popular with his own soldiers, although a strict disciplinarian.

The unadorned and almost colloquial style in which the Memoirs are written would, perhaps, have revolted the public of eighty years back, even without the additional disadvantage of the bad translation in which they were offered to it. But at the present day, when we look back upon the brocaded coats and ruffles of our ancestors with a feeling of wonder, such a rugged simplicity may seem only becoming in one accustomed to wield the sword rather than the pen; and calculated to set off the straightforwardness of the soldier, better than a higher literary polish would have done. At any rate, the domestic events of the period embraced in the narrative possess an interest equal to that of a work of fiction; while the detailed campaigns of two such commanders as Munich, "the prince Eugene of the Muscovites," and Lacy, "the first general of his day," according to the testimony of the prince de Ligne,—even if tedious to a civilian,—can hardly fail to be a welcome addition to the scanty stock of military history accessible to English readers.

The main value of the Memoirs, however, and that which alone has compensated the present editor for the painful task of directing attention to the hideous selfishness and reckless immorality which reigned in the court of St. Petersburg a century ago, is, that they exhibit un-

mistakeably the true nature of the title which timid minds are apt to ascribe to the inheritors of "the policy of Peter, Catherine, and Nicholas," to be the chief conservators of social order and reverence for law in Continental Europe. Let such as have ever been tempted to look to Russia as a welcome counterpoise to the ultra liberalism of late years, bestow a leisure hour on the policy even of Anne and Elizabeth in their relations with Turkey, Persia, Poland, and Sweden, here disclosed in the calm and impartial narrative of General Manstein. It will be strange, indeed, if they do not rise from the perusal with the sentiment:

> "Non tali auxilio, non defensoribus istis
> Tempus eget,"

and also with a feeling of thankfulness that it has pleased Providence, through the present alliance between the two most powerful nations in the world, to stop the onward progress of a more terrible barbarism than that from which Europe emerged at the revival of letters.

March 1st, 1856.

MEMOIRS OF RUSSIA.

As I passed a great part of my life in Russia, and had plenty of time to learn the Russian language, a thing quite necessary in order to understand the habits of that country, and as I have withal been witness to several extraordinary events, the thought occurred to me of writing an account of the most remarkable which have happened since the death of the Empress Catherine to the present moment.

Catherine, that remarkable woman who occupied the throne of Russia after the death of Peter I., died on the 16th of May, 1727; and Peter II., as lawful heir of this vast empire, succeeded. This prince was born in 1715, from the marriage of the Czarewitz with the Princess of Wolfenbuttel. He was but eleven years and a half old at his accession to the crown; on which account Catherine had, in the second article of her will, ordered that he should be under the guardianship of a regency, constituted of the Princesses Anne and Elizabeth, her daughters, the Duke of Holstein, husband of the Princess Anne, the Prince of Holstein, Bishop of Lubeck, who was engaged to marry the Princess Elizabeth, and the members of the Supreme Council of State, which at that time consisted of six persons; and this state of things was to continue until he had accomplished the age of sixteen. The Supreme Council of State was composed of the follow-

ing members; the Prince Menzikoff, the High-admiral Apraxin, the High-chancellor Count Golofkin, the Vice-chancellor Count Osterman, and the actual privy-counsellors Princes Demetrius Michaëlowitz Galitzin and Basilius Loukitz Dolgorouki.

This regency never assembled in a body but once, which was on the day that the Empress Catherine died; and then nothing was done but to ratify the will, which itself was broken two hours after; for it was expressly ordered therein, that all measures should be decided by a plurality of votes, and this by no means suited Prince Menzikoff, who meant to be sole arbiter of affairs, and that the others should only obey his orders.

It was easy for him to succeed in this design, no one daring to oppose whatever he resolved, for fear of their own ruin. He had immediately on the death of Peter I. got the whole power into his hands; and in order to maintain himself in it, he had won over the Empress Catherine to accept one of his daughters as a wife for the emperor. She had made this an article in her will; and Menzikoff, to prevent any one's access to the emperor without his leave, caused him to be lodged in his own palace on the very day of the decease of the empress; and this while the Duke of Holstein and his ministers were amusing themselves with exultation on the capital stroke they thought they had made, in having themselves included in the regency by the will of Catherine; for it was in this light they considered the arrangement. The duchess being at the head of affairs, and having the presidency of the council, they imagined they should have all the votes of it at their own disposal; but Menzikoff, more dexterous than they, had taken early care for the contrary.

It is a custom in Russia at every change of reign, for the new sovereign to set free some prisoners of state.

Peter II. not to be wanting in such a point, gave orders for the liberation of his grandmother, the empress Eudoxia Feodorowna Lapouchin*, whom Peter I. had divorced and confined in a convent in 1696. He ordered her a court proportionate to her rank, and invited her to Petersburg. But this princess having too great an aversion to that city, and not finding the ministry pliable enough to give her any share in the government, resolved to remain at Moscow, where she lived in retirement. The family of the Lapouchins, near relations to the empress, were also recalled from the exile in which they had been for several years.

These acts of grace had been carried against the inclination of Menzikoff, at the suggestion of some of the members of the supreme council, who had found in a favourable moment means to soften the young monarch in favour of his grandmother, and of her near relations, [and had persuaded him to insist on their release from imprisonment].

Though all this was not very pleasing to Menzikoff, he dared not openly oppose it, but he continued to beset the emperor, to the exclusion of every one that was not one of his own creatures; not being able to enjoy a moment's

* This unfortunate princess was the daughter of Prince Feodor Abrahamowitz Lapouchin, and was married to Peter I. in the year 1689, when he was only seventeen years old. To effect this stroke of policy, advantage was taken of the absence of the Prince Galitzin on an expedition against the Nogay Tartars. The prince was forced upon the expedition much against his own will and the desire of the Princess Sophia, Peter's half-sister, whose favourite he was. By the marriage in question the ambitious views of both were entirely crushed. Disappointment induced them to venture upon a conspiracy, which was baffled, and the princess confined in prison till her death, which happened in 1704. Galitzin was banished to Karga, a place within the Arctic circle, and narrowly escaped being executed.

rest, in the fear of having ill offices done him, being sensible that the whole nation detested him.

Some of the grandees had already, in the preceding reign, entered into a combination against him, and wanted the empress to remove him from her councils. Those nobles, who had projected this, had been employed by Peter I. in the affair of the Czarewitz*, and were afraid of the revenge of Peter II. in the event of his coming to the throne, in return for the ill-treatment which his father had received. They tried, therefore, to persuade Catherine to send the young prince abroad to pursue his studies; having made up their minds that if the empress should chance to die while he was absent, they would effect his exclusion, and raise the Duchess of Holstein to the throne.

For this purpose they had taken an opportunity, while Menzikoff was in Courland, to settle some affairs: and for fear he should disconcert their designs on his return, they had tried to give the empress bad impressions of him; in which they had so far succeeded, that her majesty had actually signed an order for putting him under an arrest, before he should re-enter Petersburg. By a piece of Menzikoff's good-luck, the Count De Bassevitz, first minister of the Duke of Holstein, had taken it into his head to support this favourite, and easily persuaded his master to the same. The duke begged of the empress forgiveness for Menzikoff, and to his own misfortune obtained it. Menzikoff on his return to court, was made acquainted with the sinister

* The Czarewitz Alexis, son of Peter I., by his first wife Eudoxia Lapouchin. He was compelled to sign an act of self-exclusion from the succession, in the month of February 1718, and died (of apoplexy) on July 7th of the same year, the day after sentence of death had been passed on him. The son of Peter I. by Catherine had the succession settled upon him at the time it was renounced by his half-brother, although he was then an infant of only two years and a half old.

designs of his enemies against him. He caused a strict search to be made for them, and all the partizans of the house of Holstein were arrested, and severely punished. Menzikoff's own brother-in-law, a Portuguese, called De Vyeira, and the general Pisarew, underwent the *knout;* their estates were confiscated, and themselves sent to Siberia. An actual privy-councillor, Tolstoy, as well as his son, general Bouterlin, and some others, were also banished to Siberia; the count Alexander Nariskin, and the general Ouschakow were confined to their estates.

It is said, that it was the Count De Bassevitz himself, who by an over-confidence in Prince Menzikoff, communicated to him the overtures made to him, by some of the great men of the court, respecting their intentions in favour of the Duchess of Holstein. He thus furnished Menzikoff with the occasion, of which he instantly availed himself, of ruining all their measures. Others, who still remained attached to the court of Holstein, were extremely intimidated at this; and conceived not only a great distrust, but also a sovereign contempt for Bassevitz. But Prince Menzikoff was not satisfied with his enemies being punished; he was determined to preserve the memory of it in Russia, so as to prevent any disposition to hurt him for the future. Accordingly the supreme council issued a proclamation, in which solemn warning was given against dangerous confederacies, under the penalty of a punishment of still greater rigour. This edict was signed on the 6th of June*, and on the same day were celebrated the espousals of the young emperor with the daughter of Prince Menzikoff. Her father then

* The year is not mentioned, but it is probably 1726, as it was during the reign of the Empress Catherine, and after the return of Menzikoff from Courland.

imagined himself on the pinnacle of earthly felicity. There remained for execution but one project more, to set him above all danger. He wanted to marry his son to the Grand-duchess Natalia, sister to the emperor.* By this he made sure he should transmit the throne of Russia to his posterity. The plan was not ill-imagined; but it failed of execution. In the mean while, he got himself declared generalissimo by sea and land.

The duke and duchess of Holstein were now the only personages that stood in the light of Menzikoff, who was afraid lest the duchess should form a new party, that might oppose his vast designs. He at the same time imagined, that if he could make them leave the field to him, no one else would dare to stir. On a sudden, therefore, he ceased to keep any measures with them; and throwing in their way every kind of difficulty and annoyance, he at length constrained them to leave Russia.† Their departure, however, did not lessen the number of his enemies; for he had drawn upon himself the universal hatred of the nation.

He had taken the precaution to place in attendance about the emperor none but his own creatures, and such as owed their fortune to him; but as he had directly broken with all the ancient families, and as, among those whom he could not well debar of access to the emperor, there were some who saw with pain their relations in exile‡, they seized an occasion of making the young prince remark; that

* The first child of Alexis, born 1714.

† This would be during the lifetime of the Empress Catherine; but on the day of her death, they attended the meeting of the Regency, and consequently had returned to Russia.

‡ In this paragraph Manstein resumes his account of events subsequent to the death of Catherine. He apparently alludes to the Princes Galitzin and Dolgorouki, who were members of the Regency.

Menzikoff was exercising a perfect despotism, which he was hoping still more to confirm, by the consummation of the emperor's marriage with his daughter; that, in short, to judge of him by his ambition, he might easily take it into his head to attempt ascending the throne. They at the same time earnestly entreated the emperor to keep their secret, which he promised; and actually did dissemble, till he found a fair occasion for venting his resentment. Menzikoff soon furnished this, by a stroke of terrible giddiness or imprudence.

It was on the 17th of September that his ruin appears to have been decided. The company of masons had, I do not remember exactly on what occasion, made a gift to the emperor of nine thousand ducats. This prince, having a mind to make his sister the compliment of a present, sent her that sum by one of his gentlemen; who, being met on his way by Menzikoff, was asked by him, where he was going with that money? The gentleman told him. The other replied, "The emperor is as yet too young to know how to dispose of money; carry it to my apartments; I will take an opportunity to speak to him of it." The gentleman, who knew how dangerous it was to oppose the will of Menzikoff, did not fail to obey him. The next day, the princess, sister to the emperor, came to pay him a visit, according to custom. She was no sooner in the room, than he asked her, if the present he had sent her yesterday was not worth thanks. The princess naturally answering, that she had received nothing, the emperor flew into a great passion. The gentleman was called, and being asked what he had done with the money given him to carry to the princess, was obliged, in his own defence, to say that Menzikoff had taken it from him. But this only irritated the emperor the more, who ordered Menzikoff to be sent for, and, when he came, demanded of

him in a great rage, how he came to have the boldness to hinder his gentleman from executing his orders? The prince, who was not used to hear the emperor speak to him in that tone, was perfectly thunderstruck. He answered, however, that it was very well known the state was in want of money; that the treasury was exhausted, and that he had proposed that very day to present a project of the manner in which that sum might be more usefully employed. He added, "If, however, your majesty commands it, I will not only cause the nine thousand ducats to be returned, but will add to them a million of rubles out of my own purse." The emperor was not pacified with this answer; but, stamping with his foot, said, "I will make you know that I am emperor, and that I will be obeyed." Then, turning his back upon him, he left him. Menzikoff followed him, and at length, with much entreaty, appeased him for that time; but this calm did not last long.

A few days afterwards, Menzikoff fell dangerously ill. This gave his enemies time to make his ruin sure. The Princes Dolgorouki, and especially the Prince Iwan, whose great favour was beginning at that time, prevailed so far as entirely to alienate the mind of their master from him. Menzikoff was not ignorant of these cabals, nor of the decline of his credit; but he hoped soon to recover his former degree of favour, and to overawe the emperor by that tone of authority, which he had been used to take towards him.

As soon as his health was re-established, he committed a fresh blunder, in going to his country-house at Oranjenbaum, which was about two miles from Peterhoff, where the court had removed during his illness. He had built a chapel at Oranjenbaum, which he wanted to have consecrated. The emperor and all the court were invited to assist at the ceremony. But his enemies, who had too

much cause to dread his revenge, in case of his reconciliation with the emperor, persuaded this prince to excuse himself on the day of the ceremony, under pretence of an indisposition. He followed their advice; and yet, for all that, Menzikoff did not apprehend that he was so near to his disgrace. He had even the imprudence, during the festival, to seat himself on a kind of throne, which had been placed for his majesty. His enemies did not fail of making the most of this circumstance, which put the finishing stroke to his fall.

The same evening, Menzikoff repaired to Peterhoff, where he did not find the emperor, who had been carried off on a hunting party. He addressed himself to the Count Osterman, with whom he had an interview full of acrimony and an ostentatious coldness, and not free from even harsh and rude expressions. He remained that day and the next at Peterhoff; but the emperor not returning, and the countenances of all wearing a frozen aspect, he took the resolution of going to Petersburg, probably in the idea that he should be more formidable in the midst of the court. In fact, on arriving at the capital, far from acting the disgraced courtier, he employed the whole morning in going round the government offices, and giving orders everywhere. He regulated the details of a reception intended for the emperor in his palace, where he imagined he would continue to lodge; but towards noon, the general Soltikoff came, with an order to remove the emperor's furniture, and to carry it to the imperial summer-palace. This was a thunderstroke to him, but what paralysed him the most was, the sending back the goods and furniture of his son, who, in quality of high-chamberlain, had officially to lodge near the emperor. In this confusion he fell into another mistake, that of sending into quarters the regiment of Ismailoff, which, for his safety,

he had ordered to encamp on the island of Wasili-Ostrow,* at a short distance from his palace. This regiment, of which he had been colonel from its first being raised, was entirely devoted to him; and it is certain that with it he would have impressed his enemies with irresistible awe.

Next day the emperor returned to Petersburg, and general Soltikoff was sent on to Menzikoff, and announced to him an order of arrest. His wife and children repaired immediately to the summer-palace, to throw themselves at the feet of the emperor, but were refused admittance. Meanwhile Menzikoff was induced to believe, that he would only be deprived of his offices; but that he would have all his fortune left him, and that he would be permitted to pass the remainder of his days at Oranjenburg, a pretty town on the frontiers of the Ukrain, which he had built, and even to some extent fortified. In fact, the free disposal of his goods and fortune was left to him, while he remained at Petersburg; and when he went out of it, his train had not in the least the air of that of a minister in disgrace. He was accompanied by his whole family, and by a great number of domestics; and in the manner he was treated on the first days of his journey, it did not appear that there was any intention to do him more hurt. But, on his arrival at Twer, a town situate on the road between Moscow and Petersburg, he found an order waiting for all his effects to be sealed up, and nothing to be left him beyond bare necessaries. His guard was doubled, and he was narrowly watched during the rest of his journey. Scarce had he arrived at Oranjenburg, when

* Wasili-Ostrow is an island which makes part of the town of Petersburg; the palace of Menzikoff stood there. Peter I. had made him a present of the whole island, but resumed the grant some time afterwards, in the intention that the whole town of Petersburg should be built there; which design however was not carried out. (Note of French editor.)

there were sent to him whole reams of complaints made against him for grievances. These were instantly followed by commissaries, who were to proceed forthwith to his trial. He was condemned to pass the rest of his life at Berosowa, situate on the most distant frontiers of Siberia. His wife, grown blind with weeping, died by the way: the rest of his family followed him into exile. He bore his misfortunes with more firmness than one would have imagined; and from being of a weak habit of body, he recovered health and plumpness. He was allowed ten rubles a day; a sum which not only served him for the supply of his wants, but he saved enough out of it to build a church, at which he himself worked, hatchet in hand. He died in November 1729, of a repletion of blood; because, as it was said, there was not one person to be found at Berosowa who knew how to bleed.

The general opinion about the origin of Menzikoff is, that his father was a peasant, who had placed him at Moscow with a pastry-cook, and that he carried about little pies, singing as he went along the streets with them. The Emperor Peter I. having stopped to speak to him, was pleased with the wit and liveliness of his repartees. Upon this he put him servant to Monsieur Le Fort; thence took him about his own person, and by degrees raised him to be his highest favourite. Others say, that his father was an officer in the service of the Czar Alexis Michaëlowitz, and that as it is not extraordinary to see gentlemen serve in the stables of the Czar, Menzikoff had also been employed in them as head groom; that Peter having often spoken to him, had taken notice of the wit and shrewdness of his answers, and on that account took him out of the stables, and placed him about his own person; when, observing great talents in him, he in a few years raised him to the first posts in the empire.

I have always thought the first of these opinions the nearest to the truth; for it is certain, that he was of an obscure birth, and that he began with being a common servant; after which the emperor placed him as private soldier in the first company of regular troops, which he raised under the appellation of *Poteschnie.** Having thence taken him about his person, he gave him his entire confidence, in such a manner, that, on many occasions, Menzikoff governed Russia with the same despotism as his master. His credit had, however, greatly diminished during the last years of the reign of Peter I., and it is believed, that if that emperor had lived some months longer, there would have been great changes at court, and in the ministry.

By the following portrait, any one will be able to decide which preponderated, his good or his bad qualities.

He was strongly attached to his master, and to the maxims of Peter I. for civilising the Russian nation; affable and polite towards strangers, that is to say, such as did not pretend to have more wit than himself; neither did he misbehave to those of the Russians who were submissive to him. He treated all who were his inferiors with gentleness, never forgetting a service done him. Brave he was, even to rashness; and whenever he had once attached himself, he continued a zealous friend. On the other hand, he was possessed with a boundless ambition; he could not endure a superior or an equal, still less any one that he might suspect of pretending to surpass him in understanding. His avarice was insatiable, and he was an implacable enemy. He did not want for natural wit; but having had no education, his manners were rude and coarse. His avarice brought upon him several disagree-

* "For amusement."

able explanations with Peter I., who more than once condemned him to pay arbitrary fines; notwithstanding which, there was found, on his imprisonment, the value of three millions of rubles in jewels, plate, and ready money.

He had a son and two daughters: the one who had been betrothed to the emperor died before her father, in exile; the other was married, in the reign of the Empress Anne, to General Gustavus Biron, brother to the Duke of Courland, and died in the beginning of the year 1737. The son is a major in the guards. So long as his father was in favour and prosperity, all the world allowed him a great deal of wit, though he was but a child; but since the disgrace and death of his father, there are few persons in the whole empire of Russia that have credit for less.

Menzikoff, who, from the lowest condition, had been raised to the highest offices of state, would have finished his career with honour, if he had not been so infatuated by an insatiable ambition, as to seek to place his posterity on the throne of Russia. It is the same rock against which all the favourites that followed him have struck, and like him sunk, as will hereafter be shown.

It was appointed in the will of Catherine, that Peter II. should be under the guardianship of a regency; but this disposition not suiting the views of Menzikoff, he usurped the whole authority, and governed alone. After his fall, no mention was ever made of the regency; the emperor resolving to reign himself.

Upon this, every ancient family flattered itself with the hope of monopolising the young prince's favour. The Lapouchins and the Soltikoffs, being near relations to the emperor, imagined this circumstance gave them a right to aspire to the first places, but they were all deceived. The Princes Dolgorouki, some of whom were more immediately

about the emperor's person, had availed themselves of the moment, and had, as one may say, seized all the avenues to the emperor's ear. The Knez * Iwan, son of the Knez Alexis Dolgorouki, actual privy-councillor, and sub-governor to the emperor, was a young man of handsome person, and of great vivacity. He had often had the honour of entertaining the young monarch, who took a liking to him, and in a short time became so fond of his company, that he could not pass a moment without it. His family did not fail to take advantage of the opportunity thus afforded to place themselves at the head of affairs.

Some time after the exile of Menzikoff, all the families which had been banished into Siberia upon the affair of the Czarewitz, were recalled, and their estates were restored to them.

The emperor had been desirous of going to Moscow for his coronation immediately after the death of Catherine, but had been hindered from it by Menzikoff, who was afraid, that, not being able to keep the prince shut up there as he did in his palace at Petersburg, his enemies would find favourable opportunities to contrive and accomplish his ruin. Menzikoff being now dispatched out of the way, the journey to this capital was fixed for January 1728, and the court accordingly set out on the 20th from Petersburg; but the emperor falling ill of thrush by the way, was obliged to stop for fifteen days at the town of Twer, and could not make his public entry into Moscow till the 15th of February.

All the other great families saw, with extreme jealousy, the great power of the Princes Dolgorouki. They did not, however, accomplish their wish of wresting it from them, though they played off several engines for that purpose.

* A title only applied to the high ancient nobility; meaning *prince*.

On the 7th of April, there was found an anonymous letter thrust under one of the gates of Moscow, the superscription of which denoted, that the letter contained many things of the utmost importance to the state. It was found to contain an ample justification of Menzikoff's conduct, and withal, an attempt to inspire a diffidence of the ministers and favourites then in place. But this had no other effect than more firmly fixing the influence of the Dolgoroukis, and giving them warning to be more than ever on their guard.

The Prince Iwan applied himself sedulously to study the inclinations of his master; he was for ever striving to procure him new pleasures, and thereby gained the sole and entire confidence of the young prince, who invested him with the post of high-chamberlain, and gave him the blue ribbon. In proportion, however, as his honours increased, so did the number of his enemies, through his overbearing conduct, and imperious manner.

The sickness into which the emperor fell in the month of August following, alarmed the whole empire. It being a violent burning fever, every one feared for his life. He escaped death, however, for that time. The enemies of the favourite did not fail to impute to him the cause of this disorder; and represented to the emperor, that the prince made him take too much exercise; that his constitution would be weakened, from his allowing himself too little rest; in short, that if he did not soon change his manner of life, he would altogether disorder his health.

In the main, those who remonstrated thus were in the right. The emperor had a passion for hunting; and instead of persuading him to use moderation in this pleasure, the Prince Alexis, father to the favourite, made him take long courses for a whole day, and even for

many days successively, which fatigued and fevered him extremely. He had too delicate a constitution to endure the breaking in to such great fatigue, at so tender an age.

It was about this time that the Cossacks of the Ukrain made some movements. Peter I. had brought them so low after the revolt of Mazeppa, as to hinder them from ever shaking off his dominion; and in fact they never dared to lift their heads up during the life of that prince. But they imagined the time of the minority of Peter II. would be more favourable, and accordingly began to raise commotions; but they were soon reduced to order on sending some troops against them. Some of the richest, and the most turbulent, were [seized, and sent to Siberia: the rest begged mercy and obtained it; not, however, without having been] compelled to send a numerous deputation to Moscow, to implore the imperial mercy. Their prince, or hettman, was at the head of it. They were, besides, obliged to leave hostages for the security of their future good behaviour. Since that time, there has been no need to watch them so narrowly. They were so reduced by the last war with the Turks *, that they cannot for a long time be in any condition to revolt.

As probably this nation is not sufficiently known, I shall here give a succinct account of them. There are several kinds of the Cossacks; the most known are those of the Don, the Zaporavian Cossacks †, and those of the Ukrain. It is of these last that I have just made mention; they inhabit the *Ukrain*, which is also called *Malo Russia* or *Little Russia*, and is unquestionably one of the finest

* This is the war which began in 1736, and lasted for four years. The Ukrain was entirely stripped in order to provide stores and baggage animals for the army which operated in Taurida and Bessarabia.

† This word is in the French edition always written "Saporogian."

countries in Europe; one half of it belongs to the Emperor of Russia, the other to Poland. The Borysthenes or Dnieper divides this country into two parts, forming at the same time the common frontier.

The Cossacks were once a free nation, descended from the same race as the Poles; but in their religion they follow the Greek church. When these people were united they could bring 150,000 horsemen into the field. They were long under the protection of the republic of Poland, and did it great service in its wars against the Turks; but the Poles attempting to treat them like slaves, they revolted about a hundred years ago, under the hettman Chmelninski, and put themselves under the protection of the Turks. Some years after the death of Chmelninski, his successor, Doroschonko, gave himself and his country up to Russia. This brought on a war, which terminated in the destruction of the town of Czigria, at that time the capital of the Ukrain. This happened in the year 1674.

For the first years ensuing they preserved all their privileges, and were governed by a prince of their own choice from among themselves. But the hettman Mazeppa having taken the side of Charles XII. king of Sweden, Peter I. reduced this restless people to a condition which was a guarantee against any movement of importance for the future. At present they have no longer any privileges worth speaking of, and are looked upon in the light of a conquered province. Their last hettman, Apostel, dying in 1734, they were not allowed to choose another, and are now governed by a Russian regency, which resides at Glouchow.* They can at present bring 22,000 men into

* These Memoirs were already written, when the Empress Elizabeth restored to the inhabitants of the Ukrain a great part of their ancient privileges. She gave them, at the same time, the liberty of choosing a new

the field. They served in the Russian armies during the last wars against the Turks, without any other result than augmenting the number of the troops. It is believed, not without reason, that their pristine valour is totally extinct. In the last campaigns they scarce did any other service than that of driving provision waggons for the army.

The Zaporavian Cossacks inhabit the islands of the Dnieper, and a small tract of country in the direction of the Crimea, below the cataracts. They are a collection of all nations, mostly however Poles, Russians, and Ukrain Cossacks. They were formerly sometimes under the protection of the Turks, or Tartars of the Crimea, sometimes under that of Russia. If I am not mistaken, it was only in the year 1734 that they resumed their submission to Russia, having previously been under the rule of the Turks from the time when Charles XII. arrived at Bender.

Their general, or chief of the republic, has the appellation of Koschowoy Ataman. They choose him from among themselves, and for so long as pleases them, they pay him a blind obedience; but the moment they are discontented with him, they depose him without further ceremony, and choose another in his place. It is however requisite, ever since their submission to Russia, that their election should always be confirmed by the regency of Glouchow; nor is it at all improbable, that the principal motive for their so often changing their Koschowoy is, that it is customary for the court on this occasion to make a present of seven thousand roubles to the new official, who commonly shares them among the principal Cossacks, to attach them to himself. But very often they do not let

hettman; when the choice fell on Count Rasoumowski, brother of her majesty's favourite, and in 1751 he went to the Ukrain to take possession of that government. (Note by the French editor.)

him keep his post above a few months, when he is degraded, and becomes again only a private Cossack; and many of them have even been massacred, without any other reason but their having incurred the displeasure of the multitude. In time of war the court gives them pay, and furnishes them with provisions during a campaign.

They have but one secretary, or clerk, who dares send or receive letters: if any other were to hold any the least correspondence, he would be put to death without mercy, were it even the Koschowoy himself. But, in case of any letter coming for any one, it is carried to the secretary, who reads it in presence of the Elders. The number of troops they can bring into the field is not invariable. In the last war against the Turks, 8000 of their horse served in the Russian armies; but on a stretch, with their best efforts, they might raise 12,000 or 15,000.

Their customs are very singular. No Zaporavian Cossack is allowed to be married within the precincts of their territory. If he is married, his wife must live in some neighbouring country, where he resorts to her from time to time; and even this intercourse must be without the knowledge of the Elders: but every one may quit their society when it no longer pleases him, and that without giving any notice. Another may come and have his name enrolled, without any other ceremony than that of declaring that he will conform to their customs, and submit to their laws. It is for this reason that they can never precisely ascertain the number of their forces. They are divided into different comradeships; and all who are present in their capital are obliged to dine and sup in their public halls or refectories.

They do not even suffer women to remain at any stranger's whomay come among them, and bring any of

that sex with him. While the Russians were at war with the Turks, the Zaporavians received a garrison of regular troops into their capital, which is nothing more than an entrenched village called Setz. The lieutenant-colonel Glebow, who commanded those troops, being unapprised of their custom, had sent for his wife to come to him. No sooner was she arrived, than all the Cossacks assembled, and surrounding the commanding officer's house, demanded what women there were in it to be delivered to them, that they might each have their share. Glebow had a good deal of trouble to appease them, nor could he effect it without sacrificing some casks of brandy to them. Even then, he was obliged to send away his lady instantly, for fear of a fresh disturbance.

Their manner of punishing is as singular as their manner of living. They are great thieves and robbers of strangers; but if any one should steal the least thing from his comrade, he is tied to a post in the open public place of the town; a bottle of brandy, a loaf of bread, and a number of stout sticks, are set by his side, when every one that passes has a right to give him as many blows as he pleases; after which any one may give the poor wretch, if he thinks proper, a drop of brandy, and a morsel of bread. The sufferer, at the discretion of the judges, remains thus tied to the post a whole night and day, and often five times twenty-four hours without relief. After which, if he has the good-luck to survive the blows, he is received anew into the society.

The whole republic is in fact made up of thieves and vagabonds, who subsist on nothing but rapine, both in peace and war. The Haidamacks, who infest Poland, are no other than some of these Zaporavian Cossacks. The court of Russia cannot hinder their continual forays; nay, it is even obliged to keep on terms with them, for fear of their changing sides.

The Cossacks of the Don inhabit that tract which is between the river Don, the same as the ancient Tanais, and the Donetz, or Little Don. They have a very fertile country, and several towns. Their capital is called Czerkaskoi.* They are all originally, by descent, Russian peasants, to whom the yoke of their masters having proved insufferable, they, little by little, took refuge in this country, where they formed a commonwealth. In process of time they voluntarily put themselves under the protection of the Russian empire, by which they are treated with great gentleness and moderation. They are excellent soldiers, and can bring as many as 15,000 men into the field. The Russians derive great service from them against the Turks, and the Tartars of the Kuban. Their general, or chief of their republic, is styled Voiskowoy Ataman; he is chosen by themselves from among the principal officers of their nation, but he must be confirmed by the court. They profess Christianity according to the Greek rite.

I return to the history of the emperor. He took great delight in Moscow, and seemed to have no thoughts of returning to Petersburg. The ancient Russians were charmed with this disposition; for they cordially detested the town of Petersburg, which had cost them the greatest part of their fortunes.

In the beginning of December, the Princess Natalia fell sick, and died on the 14th of that month. All who knew this princess agree, that she gave great promise, and had an understanding above her years. She was not above fourteen years and four months old when she died; and

* Tscherkask. This town was a settlement, under the auspices of the Czar Iwan Wasiliowitz I., in the 16th century. With the Don Cossacks he united in it the survivors of a body of 5000 Saporogians, whom he had brought to oppose the Turks in an expedition they made against Astrakan.

yet it is asserted that she often represented to the emperor, that he gave himself up too much to pleasure, and allowed the Dolgorouki family to usurp to itself the same supreme power that had been exercised by Menzikoff. But the emperor, who was too young to govern for himself, and was very well satisfied so that pleasures were procured him, paid no attention to his sister's advice; on the contrary, he gave himself wholly up to that family. Everything was left to them. The emperor kept no company but the Dolgoroukis; and no one even durst approach him without their consent.

It had been for a long while a project much at Dolgorouki's heart, to make a match between the emperor and his sister, in which he partly succeeded. His sister, the Princess Catherine, without being absolutely a beauty, had a very pretty face; she was above the middle stature, and very well shaped. She had something of a languishing expression in her large blue eyes, and besides, wanted for neither wit nor education. With this princess Peter II. became violently in love. The emperor had made several excursions and hunting-parties on the grounds of his favourite, who, taking the opportunity of giving him a breakfast one day, at a country house which he had near Moscow, presented his sister to him; and he, from that instant, resolved to marry her.

On the 19th of November his majesty ordered this his intention to be declared in full council. A few days afterwards he further caused it to be intimated to the foreign ministers, and all who attended his court, that he expected their compliments of congratulation on the occasion. On the 30th of the same month, the ceremony of betrothing was solemnised in great form at the palace of Le-Fort, where the emperor then resided. The princess was conducted thither in the court equipages, and the

Archbishop of Novogorod pronounced his benediction on the betrothal; after which ceremony, his majesty and the princess, his betrothed bride, received anew the compliments of the whole court, and of the foreign ministers. There was nothing but feasting and rejoicing for the rest of the year 1729, and the beginning of 1730. The Dolgorouki family now imagined they had surmounted all obstacles and proposed to have the nuptials consummated in a few days; reckoning that after this step they should have nothing to fear from their enemies' cabals. But they were deceived in their hopes. The young emperor fell sick on the 17th of January, of the small-pox. The ignorance of the physicians, who mistook it for merely a violent fever, and the ungovernable vivacity of the prince himself, were the cause of his death. In his impatience he opened a window, the small-pox which had begun to come out struck in again, and on the 29th of January (old style) he died, in the flower of his youth.

The reign of Peter II. lasted but two years and nine months, but though this prince was so very young when he died, he was nevertheless regretted by the whole nation. The Russians of the old stock found in him a prince after their own heart, especially for his having quitted Petersburg, and brought back the residence of the court to Moscow. Even at this day all Russia pronounces this epoch the happiest known for a century. The empire was at peace with all its neighbours; there was no compulsion to serve in the army, so that every one could stay at home quietly, enjoy his property, and even improve it. Except a few of the grandees, who were jealous of the power of the Dolgoroukis, all the rest of the nation were content. Universal joy appeared on every face; the treasury was becoming replenished, and the town of Moscow lifting its head again out of the condition of decadence to which Peter I. had

reduced it, by his predilection for Petersburg. Nothing went amiss but the marine and the army, which, indeed, would have been entirely ruined had this reign continued some years more on the same footing.

It is difficult to define the character of Peter II., on account of his extreme youth. It is generally however agreed, that he had a good heart, a great deal of vivacity and penetration, and an excellent memory. It was enough for him to hear any thing once to be able to retain it; so that, if with so many naturally good qualities he could have had the advantage of foreign instruction, it is likely he would have become a very great prince.

Peter I. had entrusted his education to a Hungarian, whose name was Sekan, who had been tutor to the young counts Nariskin; but this family having been exiled a little before the death of Catherine, Sekan had been obliged to follow them; and the empress named Count Osterman first governor, and Prince Alexis Dolgorouki sub-governor to the prince. Osterman was especially appointed to preside over his studies. Of this duty he acquitted himself with all possible diligence; that is to say, he gave as much time to it as he was left the master of, or could spare from the other affairs committed to him.

I had forgotten to mention, that in the will of Catherine there was an article, by which she ordered that the Princess Elizabeth, her daughter, should be married to the Prince of Holstein, bishop of Lubeck, who had already resided for several months at the court of Petersburg; and that there should be paid to him a dowry of three hundred thousand roubles. But this marriage was prevented by the death of the prince, who, falling sick on the 22nd of May, 1727, died on the first of June. This was the brother of the Princess of Zerbst, and of the now reigning King of Sweden, consequently own uncle to

the present Grand-duchess.* But while mentioning this designed marriage, it will not be foreign to the purpose to specify two other matches, which, it is said, had been on the carpet for the same princess. The first was, some years before the death of Peter I., with the French King Louis XV. There are some who assert that the Czar made the first proposition towards this alliance, but that the court of France eluded it; others say, that the Duke of Orleans, the regent, would have readily come into it; that Monsieur de Campredon, at that time minister of France at Petersburg, had even had orders to negociate it; but that several other courts, who would not have found their account in the alliance, had by their management and secret interfering got it broken off. The second was under the reign of Peter II., with the Margrave Charles, prince of the blood of Prussia; but how this came not to take place, I cannot say.

It was also under the reign of Peter II., that the first boats passed the canal of Ladoga. This was the great work which Peter I. had begun, to facilitate the commerce from the centre of the empire to the Baltic Sea. As I shall have occasion to speak again of this canal, I will subjoin the particulars of it in another place.

During the whole reign of Peter II., Russia was governed by none but Menzikoff and the princes Dolgorouki. The first was detested by the whole empire, for having oppressed the ancient families and carried his ambition beyond all bounds. The princes Dolgorouki, who supplanted him and succeeded to his favour and power, inherited his vices also, and their end was even more tragical than his.

To the Dolgoroukis the charge was laid, that they had

* Catherine II.

endeavoured to hide from all the world the danger of the emperor's sickness as long as they possibly could; and that as soon as they found there were no hopes of his recovery they had framed a will by which the Princess Catherine, who had been betrothed to the emperor, was constituted empress and heiress of the empire; which will the Prince Iwan had signed, in the name of the emperor, having been accustomed to sign the name of that prince during his life, by his order. Accordingly, scarce had Peter II. closed his eyes in death, when the Prince Iwan came out of the chamber, flourishing his drawn sword in his hand, and cried out, "Long live the Empress Catherine!" but no one joining the cry, he saw that his project would miscarry; upon which, putting his sword up again into the scabbard, he went home immediately and burnt the will. There are, many however, who will have it that no such will was ever made, and that it was merely an invention of the enemies of the Dolgoroukis, to accomplish the ruin of that family. But as this charge was inserted in the manifestoes which were published against these princes, as one of the principal articles of their guilt, I could not well avoid mentioning it; besides, as to the fact above specified of the Prince Iwan's coming out of the apartment with his sword drawn, it is perfectly true. I had it from a man of great veracity, one of the family itself. It is moreover certain, that if the Dolgoroukis had not been at variance among themselves, the Princess Catherine would infallibly have mounted the throne; but the disunion that reigned among their chiefs was the destruction of all of them.

The council of state, the senate, and such of the principal generals of the army as were then at Moscow, assembled immediately after the decease of Peter II., and sat in close committee in a chamber of the palace of the Kremlin.

The High-chancellor Golofkin announced to the assembly the death of the emperor, and as soon as he had done speaking, the Prince Demetrius Michaelowitz Galitzin got up, and said, that "since, by the demise of Peter II., the whole male line of Peter I. was extinct, and Russia had suffered extremely by despotic power, propped up by the great number of foreigners that had been brought in by Peter I., it would be highly expedient to limit the supreme authority by salutary laws, and not confer the imperial crown on the new empress that should be chosen except under certain conditions;" concluding with putting the question to the whole assembly, whether "they did not approve this proposal?" They all assented to it, without any the least opposition. Upon which the Prince Basilius Loukitz Dolgorouki proposed the Duchess Dowager of Courland; alleging, that as the crown was now falling to a female, it was but just to prefer the daughter of the Czar Iwan, the elder brother of Peter I., to those of this emperor; that though the Duchess of Mecklenburg* was the eldest, it was to be considered that she was married to a foreign prince, whereas the Duchess of Courland was actually a widow, and only thirty years of age; so that she might marry, and give heirs to Russia.†

The true reason, however, for preferring the Duchess of Courland was, that she being at Mittau, the remoteness of that place would afford time for the firmer establishment of the proposed republican system.

All the votes then united in her favour, and it was

* The Duchess of Mecklenburg was then at Moscow, where she had resided for many years; having in 1719 left her husband, and returned to Russia. (Note by the French editor.)

† The English edition makes the Duchess of Courland in her 36th, instead of her 31st year.

agreed, that the council of state, which at that time consisted of seven members, of whom the majority were Dolgoroukis or their relations, should have the whole power; and the assembly framed the following articles:

1st. That the Empress Anne was to reign only in virtue of the resolves, after deliberation, of the supreme council.

2nd. That she should not declare war nor make peace on her own authority.

3d. That she should not lay on any new tax, or bestow any post or place of consequence.

4th. That she should punish no gentleman with death unless he was first duly convicted of his crime.

5th. That she should not confiscate any one's property.

6th. That she should not alienate or dispose of any lands belonging to the crown.

7th. That she should not marry, nor choose an heir, without asking, upon all these points, the consent of the supreme council.

The assembly then chose three members to notify to the empress her accession to the throne, and to propose to her the conditions under which she was to reign. On the part of the council was deputed the Prince Basilius Loukitz Dolgorouki; on the part of the senate, the Prince Michael Galitzin; and on the part of the nobility, the Lieutenant-general Leontew. In the instructions given to these deputies, it was enjoined upon them to require of the empress that she should sign the above articles, and that she should not bring her favourite, Biron, gentleman of the chamber, with her to Moscow.

The Count Osterman, who had not for one moment quitted the emperor during his illness, retired to his own house, overwhelmed with fatigue, and feigning sickness, that he might not be at the assembly of the council and

senate, though he was vice-chancellor of the empire. It was by means of these sicknesses, which occurred at proper times, that this minister kept his ground so long in Russia.

Notwithstanding these precautions taken by the supreme council, the Princess Elizabeth might probably have been empress, if in the first moments she would but have followed the advice of her surgeon, since Count Lestock. As soon as he learnt the death of the emperor, he entered the chamber of the princess, who was asleep; and waking her, pressed her strongly to assemble the guards, show herself to the people, and, going at once to the senate, assert her title to the crown. But she could not be prevailed on to stir out of her room. Perhaps she had not, at that time, firmness enough to execute so great an enterprise. We have since seen her show more boldness and decision. But just then she preferred innocent amusements to the glory of reigning; and very certain it is that if she had not been molested in the reign of Anne, she would have continued to prefer the tranquillity of a private life to the burthen of a crown. It is also true, that at that time her party was far from strong; many of the grandees of the empire saying publicly, that she was too young to be empress. Indeed, after this princess had ascended the throne, she herself talking one day with General Keith, on his telling her that he much wondered her majesty had not asserted her right to the crown immediately on the death of Peter II., she replied, "I am very glad I did not: I was too young, and my people would never have borne with me."

The council imagined they had taken sufficient precaution against the restoration of despotic government, having exacted from the whole army an oath, that it would not serve the empress but at the discretion of the

senate. Moreover, before the assembly broke up, they forbade on pain of death, the acquainting the new empress with any thing that had been debated or resolved. She was not to receive advice of her election, and of the conditions under which she was to mount the throne, but at first hand from the deputies. Notwithstanding these precautions, the Lieutenant-general Jagouzinski despatched his aide-de-camp, M. Samarokow, to Mittau that night to apprise the empress of every thing. He wrote to her, and entreated her to hasten her departure from Mittau as soon as the deputies should have had their audience; to submit to all the conditions that might be required of her; and for the rest, to trust to his counsels; that, in the meanwhile, until her arrival at Moscow, he would use his best endeavours to increase the party of such as were not at all pleased with this government by the council of state; that his father-in-law, the High-chancellor Golofkin, was already on her side; and that on the arrival of her majesty everything would turn out according to her wish.

Samarokow had a good deal of trouble to pass, all the roads round the capital being strictly guarded. Every traveller was diligently searched for papers or letters. However, he disguised himself so well, that he got through undiscovered. But that was not all; he had the same dangers to encounter at the advanced posts on the confines of Courland, where there were orders to stop all persons that should come by the road from Moscow. The apprehension of this made him take a large circuit, and thus in spite of all obstacles he got safe to Mittau. It is true, he had necessarily been so much retarded in his journey, that he had barely time to deliver his despatches to the empress before the deputies arrived and demanded audience.

The Prince Dolgorouki had, I do not know by what

means, discovered that a courier from Moscow had got thither before the deputies, and had had a conversation with the empress. Upon this he ordered a strict search to be made for him; and finding that he was just set out on his return, he sent to pursue him, and he was accordingly brought back to Mittau. The deputies then ordered him an unmerciful bastinade; and had him put into irons, and carried to Moscow, where the count Jagouzinski was also seized, and thrown into close prison.

There were some who did not spare to accuse the empress herself of having betrayed to the deputies the reasons of Samarokow having been sent to her. I have always doubted of this, and yet it is certain, that during the whole reign of the Empress Anne, Samarokow was never employed. On the contrary, he was suffered to languish in indigence.

The empress consented, without making any difficulty, to sign whatever the deputies presented to her on the part of the supreme council. She did not even oppose the leaving her favourite behind her at Mittau, and immediately got ready to set out for Moscow.

Her majesty came on the 20th of February to a village called Use-Swiaitzki (All Saints), two leagues from Moscow, where she stopped for five days. As soon as she arrived, the high-chancellor, at the head of the members of the supreme council, repaired thither, and presented her with the ribbon of St. Andrew, and the star, in a gold basin. As soon as the empress saw it, she said, "True, I had forgotten to put the order on;" and taking it with her own hands out of the basin, she made one of her attendants put it on her, without suffering any of the members of the privy council to help her on with it; and when the high-chancellor was beginning to harangue her, she stopped him, and prevented his going on. On the same day,

she appointed the Prince Soltikoff, a very near relation to her majesty's mother, lieutenant-colonel of the guards. This was the first act of authority she took upon her after her accession to the throne. The rest of her conduct, after her arrival at Moscow, gave many of the members of the council and senate reason to think, that she was satisfied with the restrictions laid on despotic power. She signed anew all that the council of state required, and affected to submit cheerfully to all the conditions.

Her secret conduct was very different from her public. Her favourite, whom she had left behind at the requisition of the council, arrived at Moscow; and she took all imaginable pains to form a strong party. She tried to gain the guards by liberality to those who daily did duty about her person. In short, she left no artifice unemployed, towards effecting her purpose of creating misunderstandings between the members of the council of state. Every thing succeeded to her wish. It had been insinuated to the army that the family of the Dolgoroukis, and its connections, would be the only persons that would be benefited by the smallness of the empress's influence; that they had tied up her hands only to establish more firmly the power which they had usurped under Peter II.; that there were already of that family many members of the supreme council, and of the senate; that, little by little, the number would go on augmenting; and that they ought to reflect on their conduct, after the death of the late emperor, at which time they had aspired to transmit the imperial crown to their own house, and not having been able to succeed in this, they had still not given up the hope of bringing it about in time, through their circumscription of the supreme power.

Neither was it omitted to instil discontent into the lesser nobility, which is very numerous in Russia, by giving

them to understand, that none of them stood any chance of obtaining preferment of the least consequence, while the council of state should have all power in its own hands; as each member would make a point of procuring the most considerable employments for his own relations and creatures; and that, properly speaking, they would be the slaves of the council: whereas, if the empress were declared sovereign, the least private gentleman might aspire to the first posts of the empire, as easily as the princes; that there were examples of this under Peter I. when the greatest regard was paid to true merit; and that if that prince had done acts of severity, he had been compelled to it; besides, that the lesser nobility had never suffered by him; on the contrary, they had recovered their consequence under his reign.

Such hints thrown out with proper discretion, did not fail in producing the expected effect. The guards, who, even to the private soldiers, are made up almost entirely of the nobles of the country, formed meetings. Several hundreds of country-gentlemen assembled at the houses of the princes Troubetzkoi, Boraitinski, and Czerkasky, as being those in whom they had the greatest confidence, and who were in the interest of the empress. These did not fail to incite them more and more, till, on the 8th of March, they judged them ripe to the point at which they wanted them. It was then that these princes, at the head of 600 gentlemen, went to wait on the empress; and having obtained an audience, entreated of her to order the council of state and the senate to assemble, for the further examination of certain points touching the regency. The empress having consented, she at the same time ordered count Soltikoff, lieutenant-general, and lieutenant-colonel of the guards, to have all the avenues well guarded, and not to permit any one to go out of the palace. The

guards were also commanded to have their pieces loaded; and special care was taken to acquaint all those who came to court, of the precautions which had been taken.

While these arrangements were making, the council of state and the senate assembled. The empress gave orders that both these bodies should appear before her. This princess then having repaired to the presence-chamber, the count Mattweeff, advancing towards her majesty, said, that he was deputed by the whole nobility of the empire to represent to her, that she had been, by the deputies of the supreme council of state, surprised into the concessions she had made; that Russia having for so many ages been governed by sovereign monarchs, and not by a council, all the nobility entreated of her to take the reins of government into her own hands; and that all the nation, of whom he was the organ, wished that the family of her majesty might reign over them to the end of time.

The empress, at this speech, affected great surprise: "How? (said she) was it not then by the wish of the whole nation that I signed the act presented to me at Mittau?" Upon which the whole assembly answered, "No." At this she turned towards Prince Dolgorouki, and said to him, "How came you then, Prince Basilius Loukitz, to impose on me?" She then ordered the high-chancellor to go and bring her the writings which she had signed. This being done, she made him read them with an audible voice; and at each article stopped him, and asked if such an article was agreeable to the nation. The assembly having to all and each of them constantly answered "No;" she took the deeds out of the hands of the high-chancellor, and tore them, saying, "These writings then are not necessary." She declared at the same time, "That as the empire of Russia had never been governed but by one sole monarch, she claimed the same

prerogatives as her ancestors had possessed, from whom she derived her crown by right of inheritance, and not from the election of the council of state, as had been pretended; and that whoever should oppose her sovereignty should be punished, as guilty of high treason." This declaration was received with applause, and nothing was heard all over the town but acclamations and shouts of joy. The empress also gave an assurance, "That though she had taken the supreme power into her own hands, she should nevertheless make it her care to govern with all justice and mildness; that she would have always at heart the happiness of her people; that she would constantly avail herself of the good counsels of her senate, composed as it was of persons of the greatest experience and the most acknowledged probity; and that she would never have recourse to acts of rigour, unless in the utmost extremity."

To secure her against any attempts of the disaffected, there were picquets of guards posted in all the streets; the troops took the oath of allegiance afresh; and couriers were dispatched into all the provinces, with the notification of the empress having taken the supreme authority upon herself.

The lesser nobility and the common people, who had dreaded the government by a council of state, rejoiced much at this alteration of things; but the evening after the affair had been decided, there was observed an Aurora Borealis, which overspreading the whole horizon, made it appear as if all drenched in blood. This phenomenon made such an impression on the superstitious people, as to create a general terror; and in the sequel the Russians alleged that this presage was but too fatally verified, by the streams of blood which Biron caused to be shed in the country.

The consternation of the members of the council, and

especially of the Dolgoroukis, was extreme, when they were summoned to appear before the empress. Prince Demetrius Michaëlowitz Galitzin was the only one of them who preserved a serenity of countenance, with even a dash of disdain in it. He said to some of his friends, "Well! the feast was prepared, but the guests were not worthy of it; I know I shall be the victim of this. Be it so. It is for my country I shall suffer. I see before me the end of my career; but those who now make me mourn, will have cause to mourn longer than me."

There were four capital mistakes imputed to the republican party:

First, their not having brought the clergy into their interest, who, by strengthening their system with the bond of an ecclesiastical malediction upon all opponents,—a ceremony of which the Russians stand incomparably more in awe than of an oath,—would have given a stability to it not easily overcome. Secondly, the not having dispersed the guards, so as to have the duty at court done by the line regiments in turn. Thirdly, the not having taken off the head of Jagouzinski; as such a resolute measure would have struck terror into every one. Fourthly, the not having sent back Biron immediately when Anne had, contrary to her word given to the deputies at Mittau, sent for him to Moscow.

As to the first point, the prince Demetrius Galitzin rejected it. He knew and feared the clergy too much, and did not choose to be emancipated from one slavery to enter into another. He was, besides, in hopes to dispense with them. As to the second, the marshal Galitzin and the marshal Dolgorouki opposed it, because they commanded two regiments of guards. From the third they abstained, for the sake of keeping on terms with the high-chancellor, count Golofkin, and from the fourth, out of mere

weakness. Yet it is certain that one or two strokes of vigour would have made such an impression, that not a soul would have dared to make the least stir, especially if the members of the supreme council had been united.

The first thing that the empress did after having declared herself supreme, was to release count Jagouzinski from the prison in which he had been shut up by order of the council; he was not, however, immediately restored to his employments; and it was not till some time after that the empress restored them to him, at the solicitation of the count Loewenwolde, as will hereafter be shown.

Anne being now absolute sovereign, and every thing quiet in the capital, the count Osterman thought it time to be entirely cured of his disorder. His eyes, which had been out of order, now saw clearer than ever; and he felt himself in a condition to do any service that might be required of him. As an able politician he had taken special care to avoid being present at the deliberations of the council of state and of the senate, after the death of Peter II. On the arrival of the empress at Moscow, she applied to him for forming the plan of management that was to give her the sovereignty. Osterman came into her design, and, all sick as he was, directed affairs so well, that they took the favourable turn for Anne, which has been described above. Monsieur de Korf, who has since been minister at Copenhagen, was the person who carried all the necessary advices to Biron; and the secretary of the chancery, Criponoff, was taken into confidence as to what was in agitation, that he might inform the high-chancellor of every thing. By this service it was that Osterman obtained the favour and confidence of the empress, which he preserved during her whole reign.

Anne, naturally enough, was not pleased with the

supreme council of state appointed by the Empress Catherine, since most of its members had expressed themselves for curtailing the sovereign prerogative; and the council itself had, under the reigns of Catherine and Peter II. acquired an overgrown power; a thing easy enough for it to do, both Catherine and Peter being glad to be eased of the burthen of government, provided they were left at liberty to give themselves up entirely to their pleasures. Besides, Peter II. had not yet attained to a competent age for governing so vast an empire himself. It was not so with the Empress Anne; she insisted on information as to all affairs, and on seeing every thing with her own eyes, or rather with those of the favourite. She broke up the old council, and created a new one in its place, under the title of the cabinet-council, and to this the general direction of affairs was committed; nothing of any consequence being resolved on without its consent. It was composed of three members, the high-chancellor Count Golofkin, the vice-chancellor Count Osterman, and the actual privy-counsellor Prince Czerkaski.

In the speech which the empress made when she assumed absolute sovereignty, she had, it is true, promised to govern her states with mildness, and not to recur to rigorous punishments, unless in the last extremity. She could not, however, forget, that the Dolgoroukis had dared to aspire to place a princess of their own blood on the throne; and that, finding they could not bring that project to bear, they had employed all their arts to overturn the despotic power, and to remain in place, so as still to govern under another title.

All the princes Dolgorouki, who had been concerned in the schemes of the council of state, were arrested at one and the same time. They were tried and accused of various crimes; among others, of having diverted the emperor from the study of sciences worthy of him, and the

acquisition of knowledge necessary for reigning; of having ruined his health by over-frequent hunting parties, and consequently caused his premature death. It was also added, that, in order to accomplish their ambitious ends, they had projected to marry the emperor to a princess of their family before he was of sufficient age; and that they had bestowed the greatest offices in the state on their relations and creatures, and so on. The empress, for this time, granted them their lives. The princess that had been betrothed to the emperor was shut up in a convent. The Prince Iwan, who had been high-chamberlain and favourite, was, together with his father, his uncle, and all their nearest relations, banished, some to their estates, others to Beresowa, or other remote places in Siberia; with a prohibition against any correspondence being held with them without the express leave of the court.

The marshal Dolgorouki, and his brother the privy counsellor, were not immediately involved in this disgrace of their house; but some time after, the marshal having spoken a little too freely of the court, was arrested, and carried prisoner to the fortress of Iwanogorod near Narva. Neither did his brother keep his position; a few years afterwards he also was taken up, and sent to Schlüsselburg; and both remained in confinement till the accession of the empress Elizabeth to the throne. It was the Prince of Hesse Homburg who, to recommend himself at court, turned informer against the marshal's wife, and reported some disrespectful phrases which she had let slip with regard to the empress.* The cabinet issued an order, that no one of the house of Dolgorouki in the military service should be promoted, without an express order from the court.

* This sentence is only found in the French edition.

This unfortunate family had remained near eight years quiet in exile, when the empress took it into her head to employ some of its members in her service. The Prince Sergius Grigoriwitz had already been employed in several embassies to France, Vienna, and London. He had been recalled from exile to Petersburg, with a view to send him to England, when, on the eve of his departure, some secret enemy stirred up anew a persecution against him and his whole family. Instead of setting out on his mission, he was seized and sent to Novogorod, whither there were also brought the other princes of his family. The charge was renewed against them of their having framed the false will in the name of the emperor, in favour of the princess Catherine; with the addition, that though they had not produced it in the council of state, or in the senate, such a will afforded proof of their bad intentions; and that, notwithstanding their exile, they had found means to keep up dangerous correspondence in foreign countries, &c. Their trial soon came off, and the issue of it was, that the princes Basilius and Iwan (he who had been the favourite) were broken on the wheel, two others were quartered, and three more were punished with another kind of death.

The contradictory alternatives of their recall, and of their being put to death, will here doubtless appear very singular; I will endeavour to explain this. So long as the family of the Dolgoroukis was kept remote from all affairs or employment, their enemies did not stir against them; but so soon as the empress recalled any it alarmed the fears of them, lest the family should rise again from its depressed state, and gather strength enough to replace itself at the head of affairs. This induced them to exert their utmost efforts to destroy them, and they succeeded as has been said. It is asserted, that it was

M. Walinski who most contributed to their ruin; but the true reason is only to be found in the vindictive heart of Biron, who could never forgive their having required the empress to leave him behind at Mittau; and he was, besides, afraid of their throwing obstacles in the way of the vast designs which he had conceived on being declared duke of Courland.

The family of the princes Galitzin, which was nearly connected with that of Dolgorouki, suffered also by the fall of this last. None of them, indeed, were sent into exile; they were only forbidden the court, and debarred from any share of affairs by having governments given them in the direction of Kazan and Siberia. But this family never recovered its footing during the whole reign of the Empress Anne.

After every thing had resumed its usual tranquillity, the empress had herself crowned on the 28th of April (old style) in the cathedral church of Moscow; and the archbishop of Novogorod, as metropolitan of the Russian empire, performed the ceremonies of the coronation. Biron, who had served many years in quality of gentleman of the chamber, while the empress was duchess of Courland, was made a count and received the blue ribbon, and withal the place of high-chamberlain vacant by the exile of prince Iwan Dolgorouki.

As this same Biron has acted so very great a part at the court of Petersburg, it may not be improper to give the reader some account of him.

His grandfather, whose proper name was Bieren, was head-groom of the stables to the duke James III. of Courland; and as he attended him everywhere, found means to acquire his favour; insomuch that, by way of gratuity, he gave him a little farm in free-gift. This Bieren had two sons, of which one entered into the service

of Poland, and beginning with carrying a musket, got to be promoted to the rank of general.

The other, father of the Biron of whom I have been just speaking, remained in the service of Courland and followed the duke Alexander, the youngest of the duke's sons, when he went to Hungary in 1686. The prince was wounded before Buda, and died of his wounds. Bieren, who had followed him as his groom of the stable, with the title besides of lieutenant, brought back his equipages to Courland, where they gave him the place of master-huntsman, so that what with that, and the small inheritance of his father, he was in tolerably easy circumstances.

He had three sons; the eldest of them, Charles, began by serving in Russia, where he advanced to the rank of an officer, and was taken prisoner by the Swedes, in an action with the Russians. Having found means to escape out of confinement, he went to Poland, took service there, and rose to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. He afterwards returned to the service of Russia, where, in a few years, he got to be a general officer. He was the most ruffianly of men; and was maimed with the number of wounds which he had received in various scrapes, into which his drunkenness and clownishness had brought him. In Russia every one dreaded him and avoided having any thing to say to him, for fear of drawing down the hostility of his brother, who was become the favourite, and omnipotent in the government.

The second son was Ernest John, who rose to the dignity of Duke of Courland, of whom I shall presently speak more at large. The third, Gustavus, was also a general officer in the Russian service. He had begun with serving in Poland, and the Empress Anne, when seated on the throne, sent for him and appointed him major of a newly raised regiment of guards. As he was brother to

the favourite, it was easy for him to obtain promotion. He was a very honest man, but without education, and of no understanding.

To return to the second brother; he had been for some time at the academy of Königsberg in Prussia, when he was obliged to leave it, to avoid being arrested for some bad doings. In Courland he found that he could not subsist without service, and he went in 1714 to Petersburg, and solicited a gentleman's place at the court of the princess, consort to the Czarewitz. It was then thought an impertinent presumption that one of so low a birth should pretend to such a post. He was not only rejected with contempt, but advised to make the best of his way instantly out of Petersburg. At his return to Mittau, he made acquaintance with Bestucheff, (father of the high-chancellor,) who was then master of the household at the court of the Duchess of Courland. He soon got into the duchess's good graces, and obtained a place as gentleman of the chamber. He was scarce settled in it, before he fell to work at the ruin of his benefactor; in which he succeeded so well, that the duchess not only forbade him her court, but persecuted him as much as she could, and sent De Korf expressly to Moscow to institute a suit against him.

This Bieren was of an extremely handsome person, and soon got deep into the favour of the duchess, who took such delight in his company, that she gave him her confidence.

The nobility of Courland conceived a great jealousy against this new favourite, and some carried it to such a length, that they laid out for occasions to pick a quarrel with him. As he then stood in need of support among the nobility, he sought the alliance of some ancient family. He met with several refusals; at length he pre-

vailed upon mademoiselle de Treiden, maid of honour to the duchess, who married him even before he had got the consent of her friends. By this marriage he hoped to get some lands and to gain admission into the body of the nobility: he solicited it, and was obstinately refused.

The ministry of Russia did not like him more than the nobility of Courland. The scurvy trick he had played Bestucheff had set the whole world against him, so that he was detested and despised. At Moscow, this went to such a pitch, that when, a little while before the death of Peter II., De Korf solicited an augmentation of pension for the duchess, the ministers of the supreme council declared to him frankly, that everything should be done for her highness, but that they would not have Bieren dispose of it. On the emperor's demise, and Anne being elected empress, one of the proposals made to her by the deputies at Mittau was, as already related, that she should leave her favourite behind her there. She consented, but he soon followed her. After she had declared herself absolute sovereign, she made him her chamberlain, and, on the day of her coronation, he was raised to the honours above mentioned.

The Duke Ferdinand of Courland, last survivor of the house of Kettler, being dead, he managed so successfully, by his arts and cabals, that he was elected duke*, and consequently became the sovereign of a country, the nobility of which had, but a few years before, refused to admit him into their body.

When he began to advance himself in the career of fortune, he took the name and arms of the dukes of Biron in France. This man it is who, during the whole life of the Empress Anne, and some weeks after her death,

* This was in 1737. Manstein gives the account below.

reigned with perfect despotism over the vast empire of Russia. He had no sort of learning, nor yet any education except what he gave himself; neither had he that kind of wit which confers the power of pleasing in society; but he was not destitute of a certain amount of natural good sense, though there are some that deny him even that. It is not without reason that the proverb might be applied to him, "that affairs form men;" for, before his arrival in Russia, he had not, perhaps, so much as heard of the name of politics; whereas, after having resided there some years, he became perfectly well acquainted with all that related to the empire. The two first years, he professed his wish to be to meddle with nothing, but at length he took a taste for business, and managed everything. He loved pomp and magnificence to excess, and had especially a great fancy for horses. The minister of the emperor, count Ostein, who detested him, used to say: when the count Biron talks of horses, or to horses, he speaks like a man, but when he speaks of men, or to men, he speaks as a horse might do. His character was full of faults: he was haughty and ambitious beyond all bounds; abrupt, and even brutal; avaricious, an implacable enemy, and cruel in his revenge. He took a great deal of pains to learn to dissemble, an art so essential to a courtier, but could never attain any degree of perfection in it, comparable to that of count Osterman, who was a master of the craft.

After so long a digression, it is time I should resume the thread of my story.

The corps of knights of the guard which Peter I. had instituted at the coronation of Catherine, was broken up by the Empress Anne. In place of them, she raised a regiment of horse-guards, of which the greatest part of the officers were taken out of the old body. The King

of Prussia sent several officers and sergeants to introduce the Prussian exercise. For the augmentation of the foot-guards, the empress raised a new regiment of three battalions, to which she gave the name of Ishmaëlow, from that of a country-seat situate near Moscow. She made count Loewenwolde colonel of it, Keith lieutenant-colonel, and Gustavus Biron major. The greatest part of the officers were chosen from among the foreigners, and from among the Livonian nobility. These two regiments of guards were raised as checks upon the old ones, and to overawe the people.

In the month of December, Russia lost the best native general it had ever had. This was the marshal Prince Galitzin, who died in the fifty-sixth year of his age. He was a man of a great deal of merit, and one who, upon all occasions, had given proofs of courage and capacity in the military art. It was he that won the battle of Lesna against the Swedes.

The count Jagouzinski, of whom I have before made mention, had hoped, that, after the service he had done to the empress, he should be more favourably distinguished than the rest of her subjects. So far from this, he was left for some time without having his employments restored to him; and he might have been still longer neglected, had he not induced the count Loewenwolde to use his interest for him, which he did on the occasion of the following affair. Peter I. had, at the peace of Nystadt, made with Sweden, confirmed the privileges of the Livonians, with this clause of limitation: "so far as they should be compatible with the system of government;" a clause which had also been inserted in the charters of his successors. As soon as Anne was on the throne, the master of the horse, Loewenwolde, who was in high esteem with the empress, tried to avail himself of

her favour, to free his country from this restriction. But the count Osterman, as a faithful minister, opposed it; upon which Jagouzinski seized the occasion, and insinuated to Loewenwolde, that if he were restored to his former post of attorney-general to the senate, he would undertake to terminate the affair to his satisfaction. The master of the horse easily enough obtained from the empress the re-establishment of Jagouzinski, who, on his side, kept his word with him, and procured the royal signature to the privileges of Livonia without any limiting clause. This affair being thus happily ended, Jagouzinski, who had been one of the great favourites of Peter I. imagined that he might exercise his official functions on the same footing that he had done under the reign of that prince, when he had, in the senate, almost as much authority as the emperor himself. But the cabinet-council not approving this, stopped his proceedings, not without some rather sharp animadversions on him. At this he was touched to the quick, and as he believed that the count Biron, the favourite, had contributed to this treatment; for the count had, according to him, been deficient in personal respect to him; he was highly incensed, and did not fail to speak ill enough of him on several occasions. Not thinking himself revenged enough by what he said of him behind his back, he chose to go still farther, and happening, one day, to dine at the count's, and to drink too freely, he gave vent to most offensive language. A violent quarrel ensued, and Jagouzinski even laid his hand on his sword against the very man at whose table he was. They were separated, and he was carried home.

Any one but Jagouzinski would have led a sad life after such an adventure; but the empress, unwilling so soon to forget the services he had done her, after repri-

manding him for his fault, sent him as her minister to Berlin, by way of removing him from the court, and giving him the chance during his absence of pacifying the grand chamberlain.

Some years afterwards, the high-chancellor, count Golofkin, dying, Jagouzinski was recalled, and placed in the cabinet. The count Biron, being, at that time, on very ill terms with count Osterman, became reconciled to Jagouzinski, in order to counterbalance the influence of the other; for these two ministers had never been friends. Their animosity had taken its rise from the congress of Nystadt. When Peter I., in 1721, sent count Osterman thither, he recommended him in his instructions, to press the cession of Wybourg, but not so far as to break off the conference on that point. Osterman, who was sensible of the importance of the place, did not fail in all his despatches to press the necessity of keeping it; offering, withal, to answer with his head for the compliance of the Swedes at the last extremity. It is asserted, that he had certain information of this, through the treason of a Swedish minister, who sold the secret for eighty thousand roubles. And, in fact, the instructions of the Swedish plenipotentiaries, on this point, were precisely the same as those of Osterman; that is to say, not to break off the treaty. Osterman, who knew his master's turn of mind, and the passionate desire of Jagouzinski to make a figure at the congress, was afraid that he would avail himself of the impatience that Peter I. had to get out of the war, to induce him to relax on this article. Judging then that, in such a case, Jagouzinski would himself in person be the bearer of the ultimatum to the congress, he concerted his measures with general Schowalow, commandant of Wybourg, and his intimate friend; begging him, that if it should happen that

Jagouzinski came with the ultimatum, he would contrive to entertain and stop him as long as he possibly could, and dispatch an express at once to him. The thing happened just as he had foreseen. Jagouzinski, incapable of refusing a drinking-party, suffered himself to be detained for two whole days. Osterman, receiving timely advice of this from Schowalow, availed himself of the other's imprudence, and acquainted the Swedes that he had just received an order to conclude matters within twenty-four hours, or else break off the conferences. The artifice succeeded; the Swedes, reduced to extremity, agreed to the cession of Wybourg, and the treaty was concluded and signed before the arrival of Jagouzinski. This was a thunderbolt to him, and the more so, as he dared not complain. He never forgave Osterman the stroke. The justice, however, must be done him, that after being admitted to the cabinet, he lived, at least to all appearance, on tolerably good terms with him. It might be partly owing to the state of bodily infirmity to which they were both reduced, and which hindered their meeting over a bottle; for no consideration on earth could bridle the violence of Jagouzinski when he had taken a glass too much.

In the beginning of the year 1731, the Prince Don Manuel of Portugal arrived at Moscow, in the idea of marrying the Empress * Anne. It was the Count Wratislaw, minister of the emperor, that had formed this project, and previously engaged him to come to Vienna, where the proposal was greatly approved and encouraged by the imperial court, who sent the prince on to Russia. There he was received with all the distinction and all the

* The French edition has "Princess," but Anne Iwanowna, the reigning empress, seems decidedly to be meant, not her niece. The English edition has "Empress."

honours possible; but of a match there was not so much as the mention suffered. He returned to Vienna, after having stayed some months at Moscow. Biron could by no means relish this project of Count Wratislaw, and for some months behaved very coolly to him. Happily the court of Vienna did not at that time stand in need of any assistance from Russia; for certainly it would have been refused, as the favourite was not in its interests. Things however soon changed their aspect; and, during the whole reign of Anne, the ministry of Vienna had great influence in all the affairs of Russia.

The empress, though of an age at which she might marry again, would not hear of it. She wished, however, to choose her successor in her lifetime. The first step she took towards this was to adopt her niece, daughter of Charles Le pold Duke of Mecklenburg and her sister Catherine Iwanowna. This princess formally abjured the Protestant religion, and took the name of Anne, in lieu of that of Catherine, which had been given her at baptism. She was then only twelve years old, but still the empress was anxious to choose her a husband. She first cast her eyes on the house of Prussia; and the Margrave Charles was thought of for her. A negotiation was entered into, and the affair already far advanced, when the marshal Seckendorf, who at that time resided at Berlin, in quality of minister to the emperor, acquainted his court with it. Umbrage was taken, and he received instructions to use his utmost endeavours to thwart the alliance. Upon this so many engines were set to work, that every thing was broken off; and the court of Vienna proposed as a husband for the princess the prince Anthony Ulric of Brunswick Lunenburg, nephew of the Empress of the Romans. He was accepted, and came in 1733 to Petersburg. Such were at that time the

appearances in his favour, that one might have imagined fortune was opening her arms to lavish her caresses upon him; but the sequel has shown that he came only for his own misfortune, and that of many others.

Towards the end of the year 1731, an oath was imposed on the whole nation, to acknowledge for successor whoever the empress should name. Anne took this step in imitation of Peter I., who in 1722 had done the same thing: but the sequel has proved that such oaths cannot prevent revolutions. On this occasion, all the regiments that were at Moscow were assembled at night, and posted in the streets. At the same time cannon were pointed, to prevent any commotion on the part of the people. It was about this time that the empress felt much disposed to shut the Princess Elizabeth up in a convent, to deprive her of any hopes of ascending the throne of Russia, and to fix the crown the firmer on the head of such successor as she might appoint. Anne was, and not without reason, afraid that the order of succession she established would scarcely be maintained while there remained at court a princess, daughter of Peter I., whom the contrary party might oppose to the successor she should name. Count Biron interceded for her, and obtained her liberty; otherwise she would undoubtedly have been compelled to take the veil.

In the month of January 1732, the court quitted Moscow, and came to Petersburg. The winter-season was chosen for this removal, because journeys in summer are extremely disagreeable, on account of the extensive marshes of this country, and of the gnats. In winter one may go by sledge from Moscow to Petersburg, which is more than two hundred French leagues, very easily in three days and nights. Nor is there, perhaps, a country in the world where the post is better regulated, or at a cheaper rate,

than on the road between these two capitals. Elsewhere you commonly give the postilions something to drink to quicken their pace, but between Moscow and Petersburg you would rather give them something to make them go slower.

Some days before her departure the empress pitched upon Lieutenant-general Romanzow, to put him at the head of the finances; but this officer, who had always served in the army, begged to be excused, saying, that so long as her majesty would employ him as a soldier, he would serve her with pleasure, but that he was obliged to confess to her his want of capacity for the kind of service she proposed. The empress was piqued at this refusal, and obliged Romanzow to resign his posts of lieutenant-general and lieutenant-colonel of the guards; his red ribbon of St. Alexander was taken away, and he was banished to one of his estates in the neighbourhood of Kasan. In 1735, he was recalled from this exile; the empress restored him the red ribbon, and named him governor of Kasan. The next year he had the government of the Ukraine; and in 1737, 1738, 1739, he made, as will be related hereafter, the campaigns against the Turks under marshal Munich.

The exile of Romanzow reminds me here of some other persons who, much about that time, had the like fate. The first was the counsellor of state, De Fick, whom Peter I. had, in 1716, sent to Sweden, to acquaint himself with several things relative to the government of the country. For at that time the emperor had determined to introduce into his own dominions the same police and finance regulations as prevailed in Sweden. But the Swedish system not proving compatible with the institutions of Russia, he abandoned that project some years afterwards. De Fick however had, during

his stay in Sweden, contracted a taste for republican government; and when, after the death of Peter II. the council of state entered on the plan of limiting the royal authority, he tried to get himself listened to. He accordingly entered into a correspondence with the Prince Demetrius Galitzin, for the purpose of suggesting advice to him towards the more firm establishment of the new system. When the Empress Anne declared herself absolute sovereign, this correspondence was discovered; and as De Fick had, at the same time, the indiscretion to speak in rather free terms of her favourite, he was arrested, and, without being examined on any one article, was sent off to Siberia, where he remained till the princess Elizabeth mounted the throne.

Another sufferer was the admiral De Sivers, an excellent naval officer. Over-precaution on his part was the cause of his misfortune. I have above observed, that the supreme council had required of all the states of the empire an oath not to serve the empress unless conjointly with the council. When this princess took the sovereignty into her own hands, an ordinance was issued for administering a new oath. The courier who had been sent to the admiralty not getting to Petersburg at the same time that the one did who had been dispatched to the war office, De Sivers hesitated in tendering the oath to the fleet, as he wanted first to be assured of all that had passed at Moscow. But as soon as he received the orders for which he had waited, he submitted to all that was required of him. Now though there was nothing reprehensible in this conduct, there were, nevertheless, people who succeeded in blackening him to the empress, prejudicing her against him by a malignant misconstruction of his precautions, as if they had been marks of contempt for her majesty's orders, and a formal disobe-

dience. On this he was disgraced, and had an order sent him to leave Petersburg in four hours. His pension was taken from him, and he was banished to a small estate he had in Finland, where he died miserably after ten years of exile. He had two sons, of which one was serving in the navy, the other in the army. They were both dismissed. Count Munich is accused of having been the chief cause of their ruin, as well as of that of De Fick.

After having related some acts of severity on the part of the empress, it is but just to specify some instances of her graciousness. She recalled several families from the exile into which they had been sent under the reigns of Catherine and of Peter II., and among others the family of Menzikoff, to which she ordered a part of the lands confiscated from them to be restored, though she had great reason for resentment against Menzikoff, who, during the reign of Catherine, had given her every imaginable cause for enmity.

The court having arrived at Petersburg, the empress applied herself with great assiduity to business, determined as she was that every branch of the administration throughout her vast empire should be put upon a better footing. She began with the military.

The count Munich, whom the empress had made president of the war department, after the fall of the marshal Dolgorouki, was raised to the rank of marshal, and placed at the head of all affairs connected with the army. She could not have made a better choice, for it was by the care and management of this general that the Russian army was put upon the respectable footing it has since maintained, and a discipline, till then unknown among them, introduced into the troops, thus finishing the work begun by Peter I.

Munich had already, so far back as the year 1731, proposed that in order to have good subaltern officers in read-

iness to fill vacancies in the army, there should be established a military seminary for the families of the Russian and Livonian nobility, and also for the sons of the foreign officers who should wish to enter. This project was considered and approved. Munich himself had the direction of it, and under him the Lieutenant-general Baron de Louberas: and this is the origin of the corps of cadets. The King of Prussia sent officers and some sergeants for the first establishment of this corps, and for teaching the pupils the Prussian exercise. The palace of Menzikoff was selected to lodge the cadets. This is a spacious building, where the whole corps, consisting of 360 cadets, are conveniently lodged, with all their officers and masters.

It was also by the advice of count Munich that the empress caused three regiments of cuirassiers to be raised. Till then Russia had not any, and I rather think she might have done very well without them; for this cavalry has been of great expense, and hitherto the empire has hardly made any use of them. The first was called the regiment of body-guards; the second was given to Munich, and the third to the Prince of Brunswick. Russia itself not affording horses strong enough to remount a heavy cavalry, there was a necessity for buying them out of Holstein.* The King of Prussia assisted these regiments also with a certain number of officers and sergeants, to get them into order, and put them upon the Prussian footing. Nor was this prince satisfied with showing his friendship for the empress by furnishing her with officers and sergeants, for training the corps of cadets and the cavalry, but he also, some time after, sent her officers of the artillery to form her corps of engineers. He got, in return, fourscore men of very great stature for his regiment of tall grenadiers.

Nearly about this time the empress approved another project of the count Munich; it was to raise the pay of the Russian officers, which till then had been very slender. Peter I. in forming his army, had instituted three degrees of payment. The foreigners newly entered into the service received a very high pay. Those who were born in the country, and who had the appellation of *starie inoremtzi* (ancient foreigners), because their fathers and grandfathers were already established in Russia, had a somewhat smaller. The Russians had still less, the pay of a ensign not amounting to above eight German florins a month. Munich represented to the court that they could not subsist upon it, and that it was unjust that foreigners should have a higher pay than the natives; so they were all rated alike, and the Russian pay became thus augmented to the double of what it had been. It was also by the advice of Munich that a new military board was formed, to put the affairs of the army on a more regular footing than they had before been. The court appointed for carrying out this purpose a committee of general officers, under the direction of Munich. The board was gazetted, and put in action in 1733.

The empress was not content with seeing her army put on a good footing; she meant also to have trade flourish in her dominions. She lessened the import duties on some kinds of merchandise by one third, and renewed all the ancient treaties of commerce.

To the misunderstanding which had existed for several years between the courts of Petersburg and Copenhagen, an end was put by means of a treaty of alliance concluded at Copenhagen, under the mediation of the emperor. The broils between these two courts had begun under Peter I. This prince had conceived a discontent against the King of Denmark, even at the time he was his ally. After having resolved to marry his daughter to the Duke of

Holstein, he espoused the interests of his son-in-law against that crown. The same maxims had been adhered to under the reigns of Catharine and of Peter II., so that harmony between the two courts had entirely ceased. But Anne, having mounted the throne, cared nothing for the Duke of Holstein's interests, so that it became very easy to reconcile the two parties. The King of Denmark, who had not hitherto acknowledged the sovereigns of Russia under the title of Emperor, did it by this treaty; and the empress bound herself to guarantee all the provinces possessed by the King of Denmark, without any exception.

It was about this time that there arrived at Petersburg an embassy from China. It was the first that had ever been sent from that empire to any court of Europe, and consisted of three ambassadors and a numerous retinue. In time past, the envoys of China had been sent only to the governors of Siberia, and had regulated all affairs relating to commerce at Tobolsk.

This embassy had not been originally destined for the court of Russia, but sent to Ayuk Khan, chief of the Calmucks. On their arrival in Siberia, the governor learnt that their credentials were addressed to Ayuk, on which he represented to them the impropriety of paying this respect to a vassal of the empire, and declined giving the permission of his court for such a purpose. The reply was that in China the Calmucks were not known to be Russian vassals, but taken for an independent people, with whom, as they reached to the Chinese frontier, some arrangements had to be made. This appearing to be a mistake, the ambassador offered to send a courier for fresh instructions, and in answer there came two additional envoys with credentials addressed to the empress.*

* This paragraph is only found in the French edition.

The public was not on this occasion much edified with Chinese manners, though the ambassadors were mandarins of the second order, that is to say, persons of great quality. One of them even had two peacocks' feathers, a mark of high distinction in China. The presents they brought to the court of Petersburg consisted of China porcelain, images made of coral, and mother-of-pearl. Those they carried back in return were valuable furs, and the model of a man-of-war in silver, which latter the court might have been induced to select to send to the Emperor of China, in order to give him an idea of the maritime power of Russia.

The court of Petersburg, which long before would have been highly pleased with any pretence for getting rid honourably of those provinces which Peter I. had conquered from Persia *, the keeping of which cost more than they were worth, (a prodigious number of people having perished in them,) at length found means to do so. A negotiation was entered upon with the court of Ispahan, and the provinces were ceded to it, in consideration of several advantages granted to Russian commerce. But as Thomas Kouli Khan † designed to recommence war against the Turks, one of the articles of the treaty was, that Russia should still maintain her garrisons for some years; so in fact the empress kept those places till 1739.‡

Russia had been obliged to keep near thirty thousand

* The provinces in question were Daghestan, Schirwan, Ghilan, Masenderan, and Astrabad; which were ceded by Persia in the year 1723, in the sequel of the war commenced by Peter in person the year before.

† The celebrated Nadir Shah.

‡ The Russian merchants contrived to get the trade of the Caspian very much into their hands during this brief tenure of the provinces. Hanway, who was in Ghilan in 1743, speaks of the great influence they had acquired there. They were probably Armenians who had become Russian subjects.

men in garrison in those provinces, and not a year passed without its being necessary to recruit a deficiency of above one half, as the Russians, not being able to endure the climate, died like flies there. It was computed that from the year 1722, in which Peter I. had entered that country in force, to the time when the Russians evacuated it, there had perished a hundred and thirty thousand men.*

Some time after the conclusion of this treaty, Shah Nadir †, having declared war against the Turks, laid siege to Artebil, but made no progress in his attack; upon which the general Lewascheff, commander-in-chief of the Russian troops in the provinces of Persia, sent him, by order of his court, some officers of artillery and engineers to direct the siege. The town being about to surrender, general Lewascheff offered his mediation, which both parties accepting, he obtained for the garrison the privilege of marching out with the honours of war, and being conducted to Schamaki, a place belonging to the Porte. By this means Lewascheff earned great thanks from both sides. The Russian officers, during the time of their stay in the Persian camp, had worn

* Peter, with a view of securing a footing on the western shore of the Caspian, founded the fortress Swiatoi Krest, about 20 versts from the sea, and conveyed thither a thousand families from the Don, and three hundred from the Kabarda, together with the garrison of Tarku, the schamkal (or vice-caliph) of which, a feudatory of Persia, had been brought over to Russian interests. But the scheme failed, and in 1728 the fortress was dismantled, and the inhabitants removed to Kisliar on the Terek. Swiatoi Krest lay between the rivers Soulak and Agrakhan. Armenians were encouraged to settle along these rivers, and also along the Terek,— a policy which has borne lasting fruits.

† Thomas Kouli Khan did not take this title till 1736, although he had virtually all the power some years before. In 1734 he imprisoned the Shah Thomasip his sovereign, and placed his son Abass for a time on the throne, announcing this event by an embassy to Russia. Two years afterwards he added the name of royalty to its power.

the Persian dress, that they might not be known by the Turks.

It was much about this time that Russia had a quarrel with Poland. The republic was bent on dividing the duchy of Courland into palatinates, to take effect on the decease of the reigning duke, and this affair was to be agitated at the next diet. But the empress ordered a declaration to be made that she would never suffer such a division; and that as she had claims upon Courland on account of her own dowry, she designed to preserve to the nobility their right of electing a duke on the demise of the reigning one without issue. Her minister, then at Warsaw, put in several memorials upon this matter; and as the court of Petersburg did not think there was respect enough paid to these, several regiments had orders to move near to the Polish frontier to give the more weight to the solicitations of her minister. But after some negotiations, the affair was made up, and the troops returned into quarters; such, however, as not to keep them at too great a distance from the border. Another reason for the march of the troops to the frontiers of Poland was, that the prince and the family of Pototski * had demanded aid from Russia. They were apprehensive of the king's infringing the liberties of Poland, as he had already done several acts contrary to the *pacta conventa*. He had wanted, among other things, to declare Count Poniatowski crown-general even before the opening of the diet. Upon this they sent the Palatine of Belck, who was also of the family of Poniatowski †, to the court of Russia, to solicit assistance from the empress against the king. This prince dying some months afterwards, those very troops who

* The English edition has "the primate, who was of the family of Pototski."

† The English edition has "of Pototski."

had advanced to the borders against him entered Poland to place his son upon the throne.

In the month of September, the empress, with her whole court, went to view the canal of Ladoga. This expedition was performed by water, in fourscore vessels, some of which were galleys, and some smaller barks called *boyers*. She went up the canal from one end to the other, and expressed great satisfaction at seeing the work finished. Peter I. had begun it in 1717. This prince, when he laid the foundations of Petersburg, had determined not only to fix his residence in it, but to make it the most important commercial town in his whole empire. To accomplish this, it was necessary to facilitate the transport to it of provisions, as well as of merchandise, from the interior of his dominions; the country around Petersburg not being able to supply so large a town with the means of subsistence. The best means to this was to form canals; and as this prince had great ideas in every thing he undertook, he conceived the thought of joining the Caspian to the Baltic Sea. This project did not appear to be of very difficult execution, by the help of a small canal which he caused to be made near Vishnei Voloschok, between the two rivers Tzan and Smila; the first of which is united by the Tweretz to the Volga, while the second enters into the Merda, which again discharges itself into the Volchova near Novogorod. The Volchova runs into the lake of Ladoga, out of which the river Neva issues, and falls into the sea below Petersburg. But there was no making use of the lake of Ladoga; it being so subject to storms, and full of rocks and dangerous places, that a number of vessels perished there every year. It was necessary therefore to have recourse to a more considerable work. The land along the shores of the lake was surveyed, and as there appeared no great obstacles, Peter I. gave the undertaking in charge to Prince

Menzikoff, and the general Pizareff; neither of whom understood anything of works of this kind. Accordingly they employed two whole years in excavating the ground, without it being possible to say they made the least advance; so that probably the canal never would have been finished if Munich had not entered into the service of Russia. The emperor gave him the direction of it, and he had the honour of finishing it, and putting it into the condition in which it is in at present. This canal begins at Schlüsselburg, where it communicates with the Neva, and continues along the lake of Ladoga, as far as the town of that name, where it joins the river Volchova. It is in length about a hundred and four wersts, or about twenty-six French leagues. The breadth is seventy feet, and the depth nearly sixteen. The banks are reveted with timbers, except a small space that is faced with stone. There are twenty-four sluices in the whole length of the canal, to raise or lower the water.

After the court was returned from this voyage, Munich had an altercation with count Biron, by which he had like to have been undone. As Biron, Munich, and Osterman have acted chief parts in the history of Russia, it seems incumbent on me to omit nothing that may illustrate their characters and ways of thinking; and accordingly I will here relate this quarrel at full length.

As soon as the court was settled at Petersburg, Munich found means to insinuate himself with the count Biron, and to make himself so necessary to the favourite that he would not undertake or decide on any affair of consequence without previously consulting him. Munich, devoured by ambition, desired nothing better than to be constantly employed, and invariably acquitted himself well in all matters put into his hands. He seized every occasion for insinuating himself into the ministry

and into the cabinet; but as in doing this he encroached on the rights of count Osterman, he found in his way one that was not of a humour to suffer him, and who lost no opportunity of instilling suspicions of him into the mind of the chamberlain. He told the latter, that the ambitious views of the general had clearly no other object than to gain the entire confidence of the empress; and that no sooner should he be established in this, than he would undoubtedly remove to a distance from her all such as might think of opposition to him; and that the first whom he would endeavour to send away would naturally be the high-chamberlain. The Count Loewenwolde, master of the horse, and colonel of the guards, a great favourite of Biron's, confirmed this insinuation; and, being a mortal enemy to Munich, blew the flame as much as he possibly could. Biron, who did not care to come immediately to an open rupture, employed some emissaries to watch the conduct of Munich with regard to him; and many days did not pass before there were reported to the favourite certain disrespectful expressions of which the marshal had made use in speaking of him. This served to complete his persuasion of the other's bad faith to him, and he began to see clearly that, if he continued to allow Munich to see the empress as frequently as he had done, his own ruin would be inevitable. He greatly dreaded his abilities, and was even apprehensive of being supplanted by him with the empress, who (he thought) might take such a fancy for him as to make her the very first to think of getting rid of her old favourite. This induced him to try to get the start of his enemy; and the first thing he did was, to make him remove to a house in a part of the town at a distance from the court, instead of the one which he before occupied, and which joined on to his own; and that he might have a pretext

for this, he persuaded the empress to give Munich's house to the princess Anne of Mecklenburg. Munich received all on a sudden an order to remove, and to go and settle on the other side of the Neva. He requested of the count Biron some little delay, for the more convenient removal of his household furniture, but could not obtain it. He was obliged to obey immediately; and as the manner of the favourite was entirely altered towards him, he became, not without reason, apprehensive of greater mischief still, if he could not contrive to appease him. He, therefore, left no stone unturned to recover his favour. A number of friends on each side interposed their good offices, and used every endeavour to reconcile the two. They only half succeeded; for ever after that time Biron and Osterman had a mistrust of Munich, who on his part had an equal one of them.

Towards the close of the year 1732, the Russian troops, under the orders of the Prince of Hesse Homburg, had a smart engagement with the Tartars of the Crimea, in the provinces conquered from Persia, where that prince had been sent to take the command of a part of the forces. I have above mentioned the treaty made with the Shah Nadir.* This prince being at war with the Turks, wanted to have his rear covered by the Russian garrisons, that he might be the more free to invade his enemy. He had laid siege to Bagdad, which he was pressing closely. The court of Constantinople, anxious for the fate of this town, had sent orders to the khan of the Crimea to march with his best troops to the relief of the town, and to choose the shortest and the most convenient way for entering Persia, in order to make a diversion. The khan put his troops in motion without delay, and made them take their line of march through the Russian territory, without asking leave. Upon this the prince Hesse Hom-

* See note on page 59.

burg sent word to the sultan *, Terti-Gherai, who commanded the Tartars, to refrain from passing through the Russian dominions, or that he would oppose him and treat him as an enemy. So far was the sultan from paying any regard to this remonstrance, that he not only persisted in his design of crossing the forbidden province, but endeavoured to stir up several of the Tartar hordes, subjects to Russia, and inhabitants in or about those parts, to a revolt. He sent them letters to excite them to an insurrection; but the chiefs of these Tartars were so far from listening to his proposals, that they sent his letters unopened to the Prince of Hesse. Meanwhile the sultan having, with his army, crossed the river of Teski, encamped near the village Tschetschenei, and made all the requisite dispositions for passing onward; when the prince's spies gave him notice that the enemy contemplated advancing to another village, called Goraitschkie. As there were only two ways of getting thither, and both lay through narrow defiles, at a small distance one from the other, and the first of them considerably less narrow than the other, he divided the force with him into three bodies, and sent a colonel with 500 dragoons to take possession of the more difficult of the defiles. The other he caused to be occupied by major-general Jerepkin, with 500 dragoons, 800 infantry, and some hundreds of Cossacks; and the remainder of the troops, which might be about 400 dragoons and as many infantry, he kept with himself, and took post in such a manner as to be able to afford succour where circumstances might require it. The Tartars made at first as if they would attack the post of general Jerepkin, but all of a sudden they detached their main strength towards the other defile, which they at-

* This would be the Kalga-Sultan, a title given to the generalissimo of the Crimea. See the note on page 104. below.

tacked furiously. The colonel who commanded there defended himself a long while, but would have been obliged at length to give way, if he had not been promptly supported by the prince, who, receiving intelligence of his danger, hastened instantly to his assistance with his reserve, and sent an order to general Jerepkin to march also thither with a part of his forces. Scarce had they had time to form, when the Tartars fell with fury upon them, attacking the Russians sword in hand. They were received with a brisk fire of small arms and field-pieces, which cooled their ardour a little, and they retreated out of gun-shot; but having formed afresh, they returned to the attack, and obliged the left wing, commanded by Jerepkin, to give way, and retreat for above five hundred paces. A fire was then opened on them from some field-pieces which the prince had placed for the defence of the wider defile; and these, taking them in flank, stopped them short. They abandoned the victory which they had almost in their hands, and fled in great confusion, leaving above 1000 dead on the field of battle. The Russians had in this action about 400 killed and wounded. The general Jerepkin, who was in the thick of the fight, received a cut in his face with a sabre; and the prince, who had been surrounded by the enemy, would certainly have been taken prisoner, but for the goodness of his horse. The Tartars were above 25,000 strong, while the Russians were in all but 4000, the Cossacks included. This is the only action where the prince of Hesse Homburg commanded in which he had need of any courage. Ill-natured people said that he was forced on the occasion to draw so largely on his stock of bravery, as to leave himself a very moderate balance.*

* The last two sentences are only found in the French edition.

The disturbances of Poland began with the year 1733. The King Augustus II., who had gone to Warsaw to hold there an extraordinary diet, died on the 11th of February. The archbishop of Gneissen, primate of the kingdom, took the regency, and convened the diet of convocation, in which it was unanimously agreed to exclude all foreign princes, and to elect none but a *piaste*, or native nobleman.

The courts of Petersburg and Vienna at first highly approved of this resolution of the diet, and gave orders to their ambassadors to express their satisfaction to the republic, but to add at the same time, that they could never suffer King Stanislaus to be chosen, he having been, by the resolution of a diet, declared ineligible to the crown. These two courts were, at that time, very far from declaring in favour of the Elector of Saxony; on the contrary there had for some years prevailed so great a coolness towards him, as might not improbably have brought on a war, had the death of the king not prevented it. As regarded the court of Vienna, he had not only refused to sign the Pragmatic Sanction, but had even entered into a close connection with France against the interests of the house of Austria. For Russia, its motives of discontent were, the king's not having acted in accordance with the views of the court of Petersburg in the affairs of Courland; besides which, the primate and a part of the nobility, who suspected the king of designs upon the liberties of Poland, had applied to Russia, imploring its assistance in case of his undertaking anything to the prejudice of the republic.*

Affairs soon changed their aspect. The new Elector of Saxony found means to appease the court of Vienna by

* See above, p. 60.

signing the Pragmatic Sanction; and as to Russia, he promised to conform to the wishes of the empress with regard to Courland: so that both courts united to procure him the crown of Poland. Their ambassadors had orders diametrically opposite to the first,—to inform the primate in plain terms, that they would recognise no other King of Poland than the Elector of Saxony, and that Russia would support the election of that prince with all her forces, in case of the republic's not coming into their views with a good grace. The court of Petersburg had caused two bodies of troops to be assembled, the one in the Ukrain on the frontiers of Lithuania, the other in Livonia upon those of Courland.* In the mean while, France had spared neither pains nor money to get King Stanislaus elected. The primate and the greatest part of the nobility, seeing that the Russians signified their commands to them in the tone of masters, and that the point insisted on amounted to nothing less than a compulsion to receive the law from foreign powers, and a total destruction of the *liberum veto* (the great essential of Polish liberty), united in favour of Stanislaus. They wrote accordingly to France to hasten that prince's departure, that he might arrive in Poland time enough to be present at his proclamation. The diet for the election began on the 25th of August, and continued, not without violent contests, till the 12th of September, when Stanislaus Leczinski was, for the second time, unanimously elected King of Poland by all the gentlemen who were at the *kola*, or field of election. This prince had arrived at Warsaw on the 9th, and had remained *incognito* in the house of the French ambassador. The primate, and all the nobility of his party, now imagined

* See above, p. 60.

that they had triumphed over all opposition, and were in hopes that though the courts of Petersburg and Vienna might not be pleased with their procedure, they could never succeed, however this might be, in overturning what was the act of almost the whole nation.

The courts of Petersburg and Vienna had been duly informed of the schemes of France, and the cabals of the primate. The empress [of Russia] had set in motion every possible influence to retard the election of Stanislaus, in the hope that, by gaining time, the Elector's party would increase, and he be chosen king without the necessity of an open rupture. Her ambassadors at Warsaw had orders to spare neither fair promises nor money to weaken the French party. She wrote to the states of Lithuania, and impressed upon them the concern she took in the maintenance of the liberty of the republic. Her aim was to persuade the senators of the grand duchy to detach themselves from Poland. She did not, however, entirely succeed. Only a few came into the plan of a separation, and retired to the other side of the Vistula, to a village called Praag. The bishops of Cracow and Posnania, the princes Wiesnowiski, and some others, were of the number, but the whole together appeared a very small party in comparison of the rest of the nobility. And yet it was these that gave the first impulse to the whole machine, and placed Augustus III. on the throne of Poland. Some of the separatist nobles had canvassed for the crown on their own account; but finding that they could not succeed, they united to procure it for the Elector of Saxony, rather than suffer it to be peaceably possessed by King Stanislaus. They wrote to Petersburg, and requested the protection of Russia against the primate and the French party. The empress, who only wanted a pretext for sending troops into Poland, could not

have hoped for a fairer one than to be called in by the Poles themselves. She sent orders to count Lacy to enter Lithuania, at the head of 20,000 men. He at once advanced by forced marches towards Warsaw, in the hope that he should arrive time enough to hinder the proclamation of King Stanislaus; but the primate had taken his measures too well for this. In the mean while, the malcontent nobility went out to meet Lacy, and on the 30th of September proceeded with him to the banks of the Vistula. They proposed passing the river, and repairing directly to the field of election; but the Poles of the contrary party had broken down all the bridges as soon as Stanislaus had retreated to make himself master of the town of Dantzig. Not to lose time, therefore, they proceeded to the election of the Elector of Saxony, near the village of Comiez, upon the same field where Henry of Valois [the third of France] had been chosen. It was on the 5th of October that this important affair came off, on the eve of the day fixed to be the last of the diet of election. About fifteen senators and 600 gentlemen were present at it.

While count Lacy, with the Russian troops, was occupied in giving the Poles a new king, these last had sent notice to the ministers of the courts of Petersburg and Dresden to quit Warsaw within a certain time. This term having expired on the 29th of September without their having left the town, the people plundered the palace of Count Loewenwolde the younger, second in rank of the Russian embassy, and attacked the palace of the Saxon minister with six pieces of cannon. Twenty or thirty shots were fired before they could break open the doors; and after this they proceeded to storm it, but having near forty men killed, their courage cooled, and they granted a capitulation to those that were in the house,

the ministers having withdrawn themselves some days before, and taken shelter with count Weldseck, the emperor's ambassador.

After the proclamation of King Augustus, Lacy, with the troops under his command, passed the Vistula, and put some regiments into quarters at Warsaw. The empress also ordered several more bodies of troops to move off towards Poland and Lithuania, under the command of Prince Boraitinski and General Keith. The whole of the forces might amount to 50,000 men. The generals received reiterated orders from court not to remain a moment inactive, but to take whatever steps could tend to strengthen the party of Augustus, and weaken that of Stanislaus. The court of Petersburg had it at heart to settle the affairs of Poland before the opening of the next campaign, but in vain; almost the whole kingdom being in the interest of Stanislaus, and the nobility too attached to their privilege of choosing their king so easily to renounce an act of their own. So it plainly appeared, that there could be no hopes of tranquillity while Stanislaus remained in the country. The count Lacy therefore had orders to assemble the greatest force he could, and march straight upon Dantzig, in order to force Stanislaus to quit that town and all the territory of the republic. Such an enterprise was not without many difficulties; for notwithstanding the great force Russia had in Poland, its troops were dispersed over various provinces, both for the facility of their subsistence, and to keep the whole country equally in check; so that Lacy could not assemble above 12,000 men to act on that point. With this body he advanced towards Polish Prussia, and on the 16th of January arrived at Thorn. This town submitted without any hesitation to the new king, and received a Russian garrison; and after making the neces-

sary arrangements for establishing magazines, Lacy pursued his march.

On the 6th of February the troops took up their first quarters within the territory of Dantzig. On the 22nd, they approached the town, and occupied positions in the neighbouring villages. The general's quarters were at Prust, about half a mile * from Dantzig. Thence he sent a trumpet to the town, to exhort the senate to abandon the party of Stanislaus, and to submit to their lawful king Augustus III. by receiving a Russian garrison; intimating to them, at the same time, the bad consequences of a refusal. But the Dantzigers had taken their resolution; the presence of the king, and the promises of the Marquis de Monti on the part of France, had determined them to risk everything sooner than abandon a prince who had taken refuge among them, and placed confidence in their fidelity. It is true, that neither the king nor the citizens then believed that things would be pushed so far as they at length were. In the mean while, the townspeople had made all the necessary arrangements for a long and vigorous resistance. There were several new regiments raised. The burghers themselves repaired to their banners, to serve on the ramparts. France had sent them engineers; and from Sweden there were come above a hundred officers, with a good quantity of muskets and other munitions of war. All this, together with the promise of important succour soon to follow, had more and more encouraged the town to persevere in its fidelity. Most certain too it is, that if there had been in the party of Stanislaus resolute men, with able officers at their head, not afraid of an enterprising policy, the Russians would have

* The "mile" here spoken of is the German one, 15 to a degree of latitude.

been obliged to abandon their project of rendering themselves masters of Dantzig, even before opening the trenches. For at the beginning their forces did not consist of above 12,000 men, whereas those of the besieged were thrice the number. Now, as the besiegers had extended positions to keep, they were dispersed through the villages for the space of above two miles. Nothing could have been more easy than to have fallen with a great superiority upon some one of their posts, beaten them, and consequently thrown all their operations into confusion. The party of Stanislaus had also several Polish nobles with above 50,000 men in the field, who instead of any attention to aiding the king, did nothing but plunder and ruin their own country. Thus it happened that the Russians had all the time they could wish for taking their measures, and reducing the town to a desperate condition.

The month of February passed over without Lacy's undertaking anything; for beside the season not being proper for beginning a siege, he was in want of every necessary for it, so that he only employed himself in forming his magazines, and rendering subsistence difficult to the town by intercepting the provisions it used to receive from the country. By cutting the banks of the river Radaune, he stopped the working of the best, if not the only, mill that Dantzig had. The townspeople made several trifling sorties, and there was scarcely a day without some skirmish between them and the Cossacks, in which sometimes the one side and sometimes the other had the best of it.* Such was the situation of things when, on the 9th of March, the marshal Count Munich arrived, under a Prussian escort, before the town.

Count Biron, unable to conquer his suspicions of Munich,

* The last sentence is only found in the French edition.

had wished to see him removed to a distance from the court; and managed to get the command in chief of all the troops in Poland bestowed on him, with orders to act vigorously for the reduction of the town of Dantzig, not, however, at all with the intention that he should succeed. The marshal, finding that he had too small a force for an expedition of this importance, dispatched orders to several regiments to join him. He likewise began anew with sending a manifesto to Dantzig, in which he called upon the inhabitants of the town to renounce Stanislaus, to submit to Augustus III., and to receive a Russian garrison; allowing them only twenty-four hours' time to come to a determination. This term being expired without their having changed their resolution, he caused the trenches to be opened, and a redoubt to be made on the side of Zigankenberg.

On the night between the 19th and 20th the besiegers attacked the fort called Ohra, where there was a garrison of 400 men, and made themselves masters of it after a resistance of two hours. On the 21st were fired the first shots upon the town, but without effect, for the besiegers had nothing but field-pieces, the greatest not being above eight-pounders, and these they had taken, together with two mortars, at Ohra.

In the mean while, the town was more and more closely invested. The besiegers took a fort, which was called the Head of Dantzig, and made themselves masters of all the ground between the town and the sea.

Munich having judged that the possession of the town of Elbing would be of great service to him, detached a colonel, with 500 dragoons and 400 foot, to summon it; upon which it surrendered without any demur, the Polish regiments that were in it took an oath to King Augustus, and the town received a Russian garrison. The cannon

and ammunition found there were sent to the camp before Dantzig. Receiving advice that a great body of the confederates, under the count Tarlo and the Castellan Czerzky, had passed the Vistula, and were advancing to succour the town, he detached the lieutenant-general Segraiski, and the major-general Charles Biron, with 2000 dragoons and 1000 Cossacks, to keep them in check. This detachment, near the little town of Schwetz, fell in with a body of the enemy's troops, under the command of the Castellan, consisting of thirty-three banners, or about 3000 Polish gentlemen on horseback, and at least 2000 foot, regulars, who had posted themselves behind the river Breda, the bridge of which they had destroyed. The general Segraiski instantly ordered workmen to repair it, and 2000 dragoons to alight to support them. The Poles began by firing on the Russians, and these returned it with some field-pieces, which frightened the others so that they began to retreat. As soon as the bridge was in order again, the Russians passed it, and pursued the remainder of them. At Schwetz there was found a magazine, containing some eighty bushels of rye, and as many of oats, but a very great quantity of straw and hay.

Some days afterwards advice was received that count Tarlo was advancing with 130 Polish banners, two regiments of infantry, and the remains of the body that had fled under the Castellan Czerzky. His design was to attack general Segraiski, and after that to approach Dantzig, and compel the raising of the siege. Upon this, Munich detached general Lacy, on the 17th of April, with 1500 dragoons, to join Segraiski, and to drive the enemy from those parts. Lacy, making a forced march, joined Segraiski the same day, and took the command of all the troops. They marched during the 18th and 19th, and at length, on the 20th, came up with the enemy near

a village called Wuicezina, situate near the sea, and not far from the frontiers of Pomerania. The enemy had there drawn up in order of battle, with two very difficult defiles in front, one behind the other, and these had to be passed before they could be attacked. Two regiments of dragoons immediately dismounted and passed the first defile; and to make the enemy believe that they had also infantry with them, the drums were ordered to beat the infantry march. The Russians, after having got through the first defile, formed and advanced in order to pass the second, which was very near the enemy. Some hundreds of Cossacks were sent before to harass him, and give the regular troops time to deploy. These Cossacks were at first repulsed, but having been joined by the others, the enemy was attacked and routed. The Polish nobles were the first that took to flight, abandoning the regular troops; who, seeing themselves thus deserted, soon followed the example. The Poles were at least 10,000 strong; whereas the Russians had not above 3200 dragoons and 1000 Cossacks. And this was the only attempt the confederate Poles made to succour Stanislaus, and relieve the town of Dantzig!

During the last days of the month of March, the besiegers had constructed a redoubt on the bank of the Vistula, to cut off the communication between the town and the fort of Weichselmunde, and as the river was very narrow in that part, they succeeded in their purpose; no vessel being able to pass without great difficulty.

It was, however, impossible for Munich to push the siege with the vigour he could have wished, for want of proper battering cannon. The King of Prussia had, even at the beginning, objected to give leave for the transport of siege artillery through his country; but after repeated requests, he consented at length to its being disembarked

at Pillau, and conveyed by water to the army. Here I cannot help mentioning a very singular incident, and, perhaps, the only case that ever occurred of this kind; which is, that mortars were sent for, and brought by the post from Saxony. They came in covered waggons, and passed through the King of Prussia's territory, under the name of the Duke of Weissenfels' baggage. These mortars arrived on the 29th of April before Dantzig; and as the artillery which had been disembarked at Pillau came pretty nearly at the same time, the marshal now made the requisite dispositions for attacking the town with more vigour.

On the 30th the besiegers began to throw the first bombs, and the town took fire in several places, but with no great results. On the night between the 6th and 7th of May, the marshal ordered an assault on the fort called Sommerschantz, which was carried after an hour's resistance. The officer who commanded in it, with about seventy men, found means to retreat to Weichselmunde. The taking this fort was of so much the more importance, as it was the only means by which the town could at this time maintain a free communication with Weichselmunde.

I have observed above, that Munich had with him too small a force for so great an enterprise as the siege of Dantzig; and so, judging the troops which were at Warsaw, and in the neighbourhood of that town, not all to be necessary there, he sent orders to Major Louberas, who commanded a part of them, to march with the troops under his orders to join him. But this officer, who thought quarters in Warsaw better than the camp before Dantzig, alleged some bad excuses, and stayed where he was. Munich sent him a second order, which Louberas obeyed as little as the first. Upon this Munich had him put under arrest, gave the command to the senior officer

of the corps, and had these troops embarked in great boats, in which they came down the Vistula to the camp before Dantzig. Meanwhile Louberas, who had the interest and patronage of the master of horse, Loewenwolde, easily found means to excuse himself to the court, and was set at liberty. Loewenwolde would not have been sorry for Munich to have miscarried in his undertaking.

The taking Sommerschantz, and taking it with so little loss, had inspired Munich with the confidence of being able, with the same facility, to make himself master of the fort of Hagelsberg; and as a courier from Petersburg had brought him orders to press the siege, he was in hopes after taking that position to compel the Dantzigers to beg a capitulation. On the 8th of May he went, accompanied by count Lacy and general Biron, to reconnoitre the outworks of the hill. Upon the right hand*, on the side of the gate of Oliva, it is very steep and almost inaccessible. At the summit there is a regular hornwork, with a ravelin, a counterscarp, and a glacis; and the whole is well palisaded, staked, and defended by several pieces of cannon. But upon the left, on the side of Scheidlitz, there is but one earthwork, without covered way or glacis. The ditch is dry and without palisades; there is only the berm † with a quickset hedge running along it. It was therefore resolved to attack it on that side. Upon the 9th, all the necessary dispositions were made. Eight thousand men were ordered under arms, of which 3000 were to storm, and the others to support them. They assembled, towards evening, at the extremity of the trench, and about ten o'clock began their march in three columns. There were, besides, 1500 men sent to make three false

* *i. e.* the proper right of the Hagelsberg.

† A narrow path between the foot of the rampart and the ditch.

attacks: the first on the other side of the Vistula; the second against the Bischofsberg; the third against the right of Hagelsberg. The officer who commanded this last attack penetrated as far as into the covered way. The troops who were to give the assault had advanced in admirable order and silence to the place where they were to mount, and towards midnight the attack began. After having passed the ditch, the troops moved to the assault with all the steadiness imaginable, and made themselves masters of a battery of seven pieces of cannon; but by a singular fatality, the commanders of the three columns, and almost all the staff officers, as well as the engineers, were killed or wounded at the first discharge from the enemy. The columns, instead of keeping their distances and acting separately, got so mixed up, that the soldiers, having now no leaders to avail themselves of the advantage they had gained, did not go on; and yet they were determined to maintain the position they had won. They remained there for three whole hours under a terrible fire from the besieged. Count Munich and the other generals, who were at the head of the trenches, observing the disorder of the men, sent their aides-de-camp to order them to retreat. The soldiers would not obey, and sent back word they would sooner die on the spot than give way an inch. General Lacy was at length obliged to go himself to them to persuade them; and him at last they obeyed. The Russians, in this attack, had above 2000 men killed and wounded, and 120 officers. The loss was not half so great on the part of the besieged. If the garrison had known how to take advantage of the failure of this attempt, and had immediately made a sally with the bulk of their troops, they would have forced the Russians to raise the siege. Munich, who found his numbers considerably thinned by the check, sent orders to the regi-

ments, who were coming from Warsaw, to hasten their march, and called into camp several detachments which had been sent to the neighbouring towns.

At that time, there was more talk than ever of the expected French succours, and even advice of some ships having arrived in the road of Dantzig. Munich, in order to deprive the new comers of the means of subsistence in the event of their disembarking, set fire to all the villages along the coast; and to render it impracticable for them to throw succours into the town on the side of the sea, he caused the river to be so effectually barricaded as to cut off all communication with Weichselmunde. The vessels that attempted to pass were all obliged to return.

On the 14th, a part of the troops that were to come from Warsaw entered the camp, and the remainder arrived on the following days, till the 20th.

On the 22nd, the marshal, at the repeated request of the magistracy, granted the town a suspension of arms for eight-and-forty hours. The magistracy wanted to confer with all the orders of the townspeople upon the proposals which Munich had made afresh to them, to submit to the clemency of the Empress of Russia, and to acknowledge King Augustus III. But the armistice ended without anything being concluded, and hostilities recommenced on the 24th with greater vigour than ever.

On the same day, the French fleet, consisting of sixteen sail, arrived, and landed three regiments of French infantry, Blaisois, Perigord, and La Marche, under the command of Brigadier-general de la Motte Perouse. They came too late, and in too small a number, to force the Russians to raise the siege, being only 2400 men in all.

On the 25th, the Saxons under the orders of the Duke of Weissenfels arrived in camp. They consisted of eight battalions and twenty-two squadrons. Their right en-

camped on the side of Neuscholland *, their left towards Oliva, and the duke's quarters were at Langfour.

On the 27th, the French troops, who had encamped along the shore between the canal and the sea, marched out of their camp, and advanced in three columns direct upon the Russian entrenchments. They made several signals for the townspeople to assist their attack by a sally. And in fact a great detachment of infantry was seen to come out of the town, and advance towards the left wing of the Russians, while the French attacked them on the other side with all imaginable vigour. These last had passed an abatis of felled trees which covered the retrenchment, to within fifteen paces of which they had advanced, before the Russians fired a single shot at them; but when these began, they kept up a sustained and murderous fire. The French, after repeated attempts to force the retrenchment, finding that they could not accomplish it, retreated, leaving 160 dead on the spot, among whom was the Count of Plelo, the French king's ambassador at Copenhagen. The townspeople, seeing that the French had been repulsed, retreated behind their walls, and were pursued to the very glacis.

Munich had expended all his balls and bomb-shells, by the continued discharge he had kept up against the town. He had hoped the Saxons would have brought him a fresh supply; but that not being the case, the fire was necessarily slackened a good deal; and he waited with impatience for the arrival of the Russian fleet, on board of which a good quantity had been put.

In the night between the 28th and 29th, the Saxons for the first time relieved the Russians in the trenches. The

* Query "Neuschottland," a quarter of Dantzig at that time appropriated to Scotch merchants.

besiegers, down to the 12th of June, employed themselves in nothing but pushing on their works, and putting their batteries in order, so as to be able to attack the town with more effect when the artillery should arrive.

On the 12th of June, the Russian fleet at last appeared in the offing. It consisted of sixteen ships of the line, six frigates, and seven other vessels. They came into the road of Dantzig, and no time was lost in landing the artillery and ammunition they had brought for the siege. By the 14th, the Russians had already begun to employ these in their batteries against the town, and the fire continued very violent during the rest of the siege.

The three French regiments had encamped under the cannon of Weichselmunde, on a small island called *La Platte*, where they had remained very quiet, without being molested by the besiegers; but after the arrival of the fleet, it was determined not to spare them any longer. The bomb-ketches that came with the fleet approached the shore, and began to bombard and cannonade the fort of Weichselmunde and the French camp. On the 15th, the magazine of gunpowder in the fort blew up, and the French suffered a great deal from the artillery of the ships. On the 19th, Munich caused the French brigadier and the commander of the fort to be summoned to surrender. They demanded a suspension of arms for three days, which was granted them. During that time, a conference was entered into with the French, who wished to be embarked and transported to Copenhagen; but this was refused. At length, after a great deal of going backward and forward, it was agreed that they should march out of their camp with military honours, and should be embarked on board the Russian fleet, where they were to lay down their arms till their landing at some port of the Baltic, to be agreed upon by the admirals. In consequence of this

capitulation, they were embarked on the 24th; but as the place at which they were to be landed was not settled by the capitulation, instead of being conveyed to a neutral port, they were carried to Cronstadt, and afterwards sent into quarters at Livonia; and it was not till some months after, that they were sent back to France.

The fort of Weichselmunde also surrendered on the 24th. The garrison evacuated it on the 25th, to the number of 468 men, with the accustomed honours of war. They took the oaths to the King Augustus III. On the 28th, the magistracy of Dantzig sent deputies to Munich to offer a parley; but were informed that nothing could be granted them without the preliminary condition of delivering up King Stanilaus, the primate, and the Marquis de Monti. On the 29th, they sent to acquaint Munich that the king had privately withdrawn himself. This so irritated the marshal, that he caused the bombardment, which had ceased for two days, to begin afresh. Affairs were at length made up, and, on the 30th, the capitulation was settled, the town submitting itself to Augustus III. The Polish nobles who were at that time in it did the same, and obtained the liberty of retiring wherever they chose. There were none put under arrest but the primate of the kingdom, the count Poniatowski, and the marquis de Monti, who were conveyed under guard to Thorn.

The siege of Dantzig had lasted 135 days reckoning from the 22nd of February, when the count Lacy made the first approaches to the town; and cost the Russians more than 8000 men, and near 200 officers. The damage caused by 4000 or 5000 bomb-shells thrown into the town was not so great as one might have imagined from such a quantity.

The town was fined 2,000,000 of crowns, which it was

to pay to the Empress of Russia; 1,000,000 of which was by way of punishment for not having hindered the retreat of King Stanislaus. The empress, however, forgave them half.

While one part of the Russian army had been employed in the siege of Dantzig, the rest of the troops that were dispersed over the provinces of Poland were employed in making war upon the adherents of King Stanislaus.

I have already observed above, that almost all the grandees of the kingdom, and the greater part of the lesser nobility, had embraced the party of that prince. They had raised a great number of troops, with which they infested all Poland; but they were more taken up with ravaging and burning the property and lands of their adversaries belonging to the party of Augustus, than in making war against the Russians. The whole of their enterprises amounted to nothing more than harassing these, by the needless marches they obliged them to make from time to time. They would assemble at some miles from the Russian camp or quarters, and set fire to everything on the estates of their countrymen, letting the report go abroad that they would give the enemy battle, if they could but light upon him; but no sooner did they see the Russians at a distance, than, without giving them time to fire above a shot or two at them, they scampered away. During this war, never did 300 Russians go a step out of their way to avoid 3000 Poles; and they uniformly beat them in every encounter they had with them. The Saxons were not so fortunate, having come off worst on several occasions of trial with the Poles, who at length came to hold them in contempt, whereas they were extremely afraid of the Russians.

As the greatest part of the Polish nobles who had been made prisoners at Dantzig submitted to the King

Augustus, this circumstance determined near half the kingdom to follow their example. The rest, nevertheless, continued the war, and detained the Russians a whole year more in Poland. The empress, however, finding that there was no longer a necessity for keeping up so numerous an army in this kingdom, and the Emperor Charles VI. repeatedly urging on her his request to send succours to him on the Rhine, she ordered sixteen regiments of infantry to march for that purpose. The count Lacy had the command of these. He led them to near the frontiers of Silesia, where they had their winter quarters, and were brought into fine condition.

At the opening of the spring, Lacy had orders to march with eight regiments, making about 10,000 men, to the Rhine; while the others remained on the confines of Silesia, waiting for further orders. The generals who commanded under Lacy, were Lieutenant-general Keith, and Major-generals Bachmetew and Charles Biron. The troops that were to go, on their entry into Silesia were reviewed, by the commissioners of the emperor, which were, the marshal Count Wildscheck and Lieutenant-general Baron Haslinger. They crossed Bohemia and the upper Palatinate, and arrived, in the month of June, on the banks of the Rhine. Every one admired them, and was astonished at the good discipline they observed on their march and in their quarters.

As the Austrians rarely lose an opportunity of exhibiting their pride, I will here relate an anecdote illustrative of this trait, and the admirable way in which General Keith met it. After the review, the Baron Haslinger, who had directed his attention to Keith's division, assembled all the officers, and made them a speech full of laudation and compliment; but throughout his harangue, studiously confined himself to the use of the title Czarina in speaking of the

empress. Keith made a reply in which he as studiously confined himself to the phrase Arch-duke of Austria, assuring the commissioner that the *Empress* his sovereign would always feel it a pleasure to assist the house of the *Arch-duke*. M. Haslinger was a little put out by this, and to avoid exposing himself to similar rubs, sent off an express to Vienna, which brought him orders invariably to use the title Empress when speaking of the Russian sovereign. The Austrian generals, however, on many other occasions, exhibited abundance of arrogance, and the Russian generals often had unpleasantnesses in their intercourse with them on this ground. As for Keith, the court of Vienna never forgot his speech, or let slip an opportunity to do him mischief.*

While marshal Munich had been employed in Poland, his enemies at court had not neglected the chance of blackening him to the empress. He had given some opening for blame in his attack upon Hagelsberg, which, as it was said, he had undertaken too lightly. But when he returned to court at the end of the campaign, he found means to justify himself, and was restored to favour. He was upon all the councils; and it was resolved to declare war against the Turks, as soon as the affairs of Poland should be entirely settled. Munich was sent back to Warsaw to put the finishing hand to these. At length, everything there was terminated agreeably; peace was concluded; and all Poland submitted to the king that Russia had given it. Munich then left Warsaw, and repaired to the Ukrain, where the command of the troops had been bestowed upon him. As I wished to relate the affairs of Poland without interruption, I will now set down some other remarkable events that took place in the mean time during the years 1734 and 1735.

* This paragraph is found only in the French edition.

The advantages which Thomas Kouli Khan gained over the Turks gave great pleasure to the court of Petersburg, as it received repeated advices that the French ambassador at Constantinople had used his best endeavours to induce the Porte to come to a rupture with Russia, a danger which could not but give some uneasiness to the empress, though there were no signs of it outwardly. This uneasiness was greatly augmented on its becoming known at Petersburg, that the Count (or rather then Bashaw) Bonneval had taught a body of Turkish troops all the exercises and evolutions which were practised in the other armies of Europe; and that his project was to put the whole militia of that vast empire upon a regular footing. The count Bonneval had, for training these troops, availed himself of the service of several Frenchmen who had taken the turban, and among others of Messieurs De Ramsey and De Montchevreuil, who left France in company with the Abbé Mascarti.* But this project did not succeed. So long as Bonneval contented himself with training 3000 men, the Turks diverted themselves with it, as they might do at a play. The Sultan and all his ministers were delighted at the dexterity and expertness of the men with their exercise. But so soon as he gave signs of wanting to go further and make the improvement general, he found insurmountable obstacles; and the Divan gave it all up, fearing an universal revolt, in case of an attempt to introduce any innovation in the militia.

But it was not enough for the Empress of Russia to be satisfied that this project had come to nothing; she wanted to withdraw from Constantinople all such persons as

* Query "M'Carthy." Ramsay was doubtless a Jacobite refugee in France, and so passed for a Frenchman.

might be capable of serving the Porte, in the event of its resuming the plan. Her minister at that court had orders to tamper with those officers and try to induce them to quit Turkey, to tempt them with great offers, and assure them they might make their fortune in Russia. Ramsey and Montchevreuil suffered themselves to be persuaded. They concealed themselves for some days in the house of the English ambassador, and afterwards got a passage in a ship for Holland. Montchevreuil died by the way. Ramsey got to Petersburg, where he was taken into the service as major. He took the name of count of Balmaine, and distinguished himself on all occasions. After rising to the rank of colonel, he was killed in the action of Wilmanstrand.

It was in the course of the year 1734, that the court of Petersburg once more renewed its treaty of alliance with Thomas Kouli Khan, who engaged not to make a peace with the Porte without securing the interests of Russia. The empress tried as much as possible to establish a close connection and friendship with that potentate, but the Shah did not keep faith with her. He made a peace with the Porte at the very time when Russia was in the thickest of the war with the Turks.

In 1735 Sweden held a diet, which gave some uneasiness to the Russians. They well knew that France was using its utmost efforts to bring the Swedes to a rupture. This nation had already given some indications of its ill-will; for when Stanislaus had taken refuge in Dantzig, a number of Swedish officers had, with the consent of the senate, repaired thither to offer their service to that prince; and when the town was taken they were made prisoners. But the empress immediately released them, and sent them back to Stockholm. Some complaints indeed were made on the occasion; but as it was

of great consequence to the empress to have peace on that side, she made such offers to the court of Sweden as determined it to renew the treaties of alliance and commerce which had subsisted between the two powers. Russia took upon herself to pay 300,000 florins which Sweden owed the republic of Holland, and engaged to give Sweden the preference to all other nations in purchasing and exporting grain from the ports of Livonia.

In the month of July, there occurred at the court of Petersburg a minor incident, which may, however, deserve a place in these Memoirs. It was imputed to Madame d'Aderkass, the head-governess of the Princess Anne, that instead of vigilance and attention to her conduct, and giving her a good education, she had been induced to lend her assistance to an intrigue between the princess and a certain foreign minister.* This being discovered, the governess was dismissed, and sent off to Germany. The minister, who had aspired to this great conquest, was some time afterwards entrusted with an affair that obliged him to return to his court, to which there was at the same time a hint conveyed, that his return to Petersburg would not be acceptable. A gentleman of the chamber to the empress, named Brilkin, being suspected of some privity to this intrigue, was sent away from the court, and had a place of captain in the garrison of Kasan. There he remained till the Princess Anne had the Duke of Courland arrested†; when she recalled him, and made him chamberlain and attorney-general to the senate.

After the disturbances in Poland were quieted, Russia thought herself compelled to begin a new war against the

* This individual was Count Lynar, who had been accredited to the court of Petersburg by Augustus II. of Poland. The princess was only sixteen years of age.

† This was six years afterwards, in the revolution effected by Munich.

Turks. The frequent incursions which the Tartars had made into the Russian provinces served as a pretext for this rupture. The court of Petersburg had made reiterated complaints to the Divan, without receiving any satisfactory answer. In revenge for this, a war was begun, which cost immense sums and a great number of lives, without any real advantage resulting.

The truth however is, that Peter I. had already projected this war, having never been able to digest the peace of the Pruth. He had prepared large magazines on the Don, and amassed a great quantity of materials for building flat-bottomed boats to go down the Dnieper and the Don, at Woronetz, Novo-Paulowska, and other places on the frontiers; as also an ample provision of arms, ammunition, and clothing for the soldiers: in short, everything was ready for taking the field, when death prevented the execution of his designs.

As soon as Anne had ascended the throne, Loewenwolde, the master of the horse, brought this project again upon the carpet; and Keith, who was at that time major-general and inspector-general of the army, received in 1732 orders, when reviewing the troops, to visit the stores that had been collected on the frontiers, and, in case of finding that the provisions laid up there were damaged, to purchase fresh, and replenish the magazines. Keith found in them a great quantity of flour spoiled; all the clothes, having been kept for years laid in heaps, were rotten, and the arms eaten up with rust; and all this through the negligence of the officials who had the care of them. He laid in a great store of corn, and put the management on a better footing. The disturbances that came on in Poland hindered the empress from immediately attacking the Turks; but everything being at last pacified throughout the rest of Europe, she judged it a favourable time to take her

revenge on the Ottomans, and the more so for their being at the time engaged in an unsuccessful war with Persia.

She did not, however, choose as yet to declare herself openly, it being necessary first to complete her projected arrangements. Her minister at Constantinople, Neplueff, who had resided there several years, was recalled, in order that the government might receive from him personally authentic accounts of the actual circumstances of the Porte. He had his audience for taking leave precisely at the juncture when the Turks had suffered a fresh blow from Thomas Kouli Khan, which abated a good deal of the grand vizier's haughtiness; so that he treated him with all the politeness imaginable, endeavouring to excuse the invasions of the Tartars, and promising not only to hinder the like for the future, but to give all sorts of satisfaction to Russia for the past. But these concessions came too late: the court of Petersburg had already taken its resolution.

The general Count Weisbach, who commanded in the Ukrain, had orders to assemble, in the month of August, 20,000 men, and to hold them in readiness to march; but this general died just about the time that he was to begin operations. Upon this, the court gave the command to Lieutenant-general Count Douglass; but he too happened to be under the influence of a malignant fever when the commission was brought him. At length, General Leontew was put at the head of the troops. But by these messages to and from Petersburg, there were near six weeks lost, and the general could not get ready to march before the beginning of October.

His instructions chiefly set forth the desire of Russia to obtain satisfaction for the invasions of the Tartars, and that this special time of falling upon the Crimea had been chosen, because the khan was absent from it with his

best troops, on an invasion of Daghestan, a province dependent on Persia. The general, then, had orders to march into the Crimea with all possible expedition, and put everything to fire and sword, to deliver from slavery the subjects of Russia, and entirely exterminate the Nogay-Tartars, who inhabit the deserts, or steppes, between the Ukrain and the Crimea, in huts which they transport from one place to another.

Leontew, for this expedition, had with him 20,000 regulars, the most part dragoons, and 8000 Cossacks. With this army he entered the steppes in the beginning of October. The outset of the enterprise was auspicious enough. His parties found several hordes of the Nogay-Tartars, above four thousand of whom were massacred, and very few spared. They got from them a great quantity of cattle, especially sheep. But these advantages cost the Russians dear. The expedition had been begun at too advanced a season; the pasturage began to fail; the nights, which in that country are fresh even in summer, began by this time to be extremely cold. Sickness multiplied in the army, both among men and horses. Hardly a day passed without numbers of both dying. They were obliged too to drag the sick along with the army, for there are no towns in those deserts in which to form hospitals. The army was already in want of necessaries, when it still had ten marches to make before arriving at the lines of the Crimea. Leontew, with the generals and chief officers of the regiments, held a council of war, and at this it was resolved to return. The army lay then encamped near Kamenoï Saton, and the night before it set out on its march back, the snow fell a foot thick on the ground, and above 1000 horses perished by it. The troops returned into the Ukrain, where they took up their winter-quarters towards the end of November, the regiments all

of them in sad plight. This expedition cost above 9000 men, and at least as many horses, without the Russians gaining any advantage by it.

The court was extremely vexed at the miscarriage of this project, which they had believed impossible to fail. The plan of it had been furnished by the deceased count Weisbach; and, perhaps, he himself would have executed it better than his successor, had he lived to take charge of it. The court was not pleased with Leontew's conduct, but he fully justified himself before a court-martial.

While Leontew had been occupied with his unfortunate attempt, marshal Munich had arrived in the Ukrain, and taken the command of the troops. He then set to work with all imaginable diligence, in making the proper dispositions for the ensuing campaign. He began with inspecting the docks of Woronetz, and ordering a new one to be made at Briansk, for building small vessels that might be of service on the Dnieper, the Don, and the Black Sea. On his return thence, he went to visit the lines of the Ukrain, which he took care should be repaired in many places. He also had all the fortifications, or rather towns and entrenched villages, along the frontier, put into a condition of defence against the insults of the Tartars. It will be easily conceived that this required no great matter to accomplish, since 2000 Tartars will never so much as think of attacking a redoubt guarded by fifty men.

Here, I imagine, it will not be irrelevant to give an idea of the lines of the Ukrain. They had been projected by Peter I. in order to check the inroads of the Tartars. After his death, nothing was done in the matter till the year 1731, when the lines were begun. They were finished in 1733, but the forts were not so till 1738. The right of these lines rests on the Dnieper, the left on the

Donetz. They are in length above 100 French leagues. At convenient distances there are forts, fifteen of which have an earthen parapet staked, a ditch full of water, a glacis, and a palisaded counterscarp. Between these forts there are, besides, some good redoubts and redans along the lines. There is a body of militia, (20,000 dragoons,) to guard them, posted in the forts and in villages built on purpose for them. In time of peace they receive one third less pay than the other troops; to make amends for which, they have lands distributed to them, which they cultivate. This militia is draughted from 200,000 families of gentlemen of small fortune, who inhabit the provinces of Koursk and Rilsk. They are called in Russia *Odnodwortzi*, that is to say, people possessed of but one dwelling, and who cultivate their land with their own hands.* The 200,000 families, out of which this militia is draughted, are obliged to send every year a certain number of labourers to assist the militia in its work at the lines. And here let me remark by the way, that these soldiers constitute the finest body of troops in all Russia. It was from this body that the Empress Anne draughted the Ishmaëlow † regiment of guards, and Munich's regiment of cuirassiers. It was also by the counsel of Munich that this body of militia was formed [or rather augmented] in 1731. There were already 6000 of them in the time of Peter I. These arrangements have not, however, proved capable of preventing the Tartars from making incursions into the Ukrain, the extent being too great to be easily guarded. They have often passed and repassed the lines, without the militia hindering them. It was only in this war

* The "statesmen" of Cumberland, and the *αὐτουργοὶ* of ancient Attica, may serve to illustrate the nature of this class.

† See above, page 46.

that these vagabonds were often well beaten, and their plunder recovered from them, by means of the good dispositions made by marshal Munich.

After visiting the docks and the lines, the marshal established his head-quarters at Izioum, a Cossack town not far from the latter. The plan which he had laid down for the campaign was, to begin with the siege of Azoph, and at the same time to make the greatest efforts against the Tartars of the Crimea, so as to conquer all their country if possible, and form a settlement on the Black Sea. In consequence of this arrangement, a great part of the magazines, which had been so long preparing, became useless. Munich tried to remedy this, by having a great quantity of grain brought from Russia. But notwithstanding all the pains he took, things did not go on so fast as he wished.

The regiments had orders to prepare their field equipages. Munich introduced anew the use of pikes, which had been entirely laid aside since the peace of Neustadt. Every regiment was obliged to provide for itself 350, eighteen feet long; and twenty *chevaux-de-frise*, each a fathom * in length, to defend the head of their camp. These *chevaux-de-frise* were of great service; for as soon as the troops were entered into camp, they were planted, and the army was safe from all surprise, as they formed a kind of entrenchment. But the pikes served only to embarrass the soldiers in their march, the second rank being obliged to carry them; besides requiring the augmentation of the carriages of each regiment by two carts, to carry the pikes of the sick. Munich also ordered the officers and non-commissioned officers to lay aside

* What is meant is doubtless the *sajene*, which is seven *feet*. This measure is commonly rendered by "toise" in French, and "faden" in German. The pikes were perhaps three sajenes, or twenty-one feet, long.

their espontoons and halberds, and, in lieu of them, to take small guns with bayonets, judging these more useful than the espontoons.

The arrangements which the Russians were making in the Ukrain, and the expedition, unfortunate as it was of general Leontew, gave the Porte uneasiness. It had received another check on the side of Persia, and was afraid of having much the worst of it if attacked at the same time by Russia. The grand vizier sent for M. Wisniakoff, who had succeeded Neplueff, and, treating him very graciously, declared to him that he was fully disposed to preserve peace with all the Christian powers. He even offered to compel the Tartars to make good the damage they had done on the Russian territories. He spoke at the same time to M. Thalmann, ambassador from the court of Vienna, and to the other foreign ministers, to engage them to interpose their good offices, and endeavour to reconcile the differences between the two courts. But he did not, at the same time, neglect to take all necessary measures for putting the frontiers into a state of defence. He had the garrison of Azoph augmented, and sent a fleet into the Black Sea to cover the place on that side.

The maritime powers * tried to dissuade the empress from this war; but she had already made up her mind.

A part of the ministry, and especially count Osterman, were against the war. They argued, that the Russian nation could never hope to gain any the least advantage by a war with the Turks; that it would involve an immense waste of treasure and blood, without the possibility of any real good resulting from it. Their opinion also was, that since it was the Tartars that had committed hostilities in the provinces, revenge should be taken on them alone,

* Probably England and Holland are meant.

without making any formal declaration against the Porte; that, for this purpose, there should be got ready a competent number of light troops, supported by a body of regulars, to march, in the proper season, into the Crimea, carry fire and sword into the country as far as they could penetrate, and then retire into the Ukrain. If the Ottoman court should complain of this, a justification was ready, in the answer that there was no sort of intention to come to a rupture with it; but that satisfaction having been frequently asked for the damages caused by the Tartar invasions and not having been obtained (possibly because the Porte, being otherwise embarrassed, wished to keep on terms with the Tartars), the empress had found herself obliged to make use of the power she had in her own hands, to punish those vagrant robbers, whose intention appeared to be not only to ruin her dominions, but to embroil her with the Porte; that in all other respects the empress did not desire any thing more than to live on a perfectly good understanding with that court.

After the war was over it appeared very clearly, that those who were of this opinion were entirely in the right. For Russia lost an infinite number of lives in the quarrel, and got scarce any advantage by it; as, among the advantages to the state, there can hardly be reckoned the glory that her army, or rather some individuals of it, acquired in the course of the war. Even marshal Munich himself was not of the opinion to begin war against the Turks; although after it was once declared, he would not have been sorry for its continuance some years longer.

The count Osterman, by order of the empress, wrote the Grand Vizier a long letter, which served at once for a manifesto and a declaration of war. He entered into a specification of all the infractions of the peace, committed by the Turks and Tartars since the beginning of the current

century, and concluded with saying, that her majesty found herself obliged to have recourse to the power which God had given her, and to employ it against the Porte, in order to provide for the security of her subjects against insult; that she did not, however, take this resolution without regret, and designed only to procure herself satisfaction in proportion to the injuries and losses which her empire had sustained, and to obtain the establishment of a peace, on such conditions as would guarantee for the future, in the most solid manner, the safety and tranquillity of her states and subjects; that she would readily come into any reasonable terms of accommodation, to spare effusion of blood; so that if the Porte was of the same disposition, it might acquaint her majesty with the fact, and send its ministers to the frontier, with full powers to enter into an immediate negotiation.

The Grand Vizier received this letter of count Osterman just at the same time that he had advice of siege being laid to Azoph, and of the Russian army being in full march towards the Crimea. This determined the Porte to publish a manifesto at Constantinople, in which war was declared against Russia. The Grand Vizier had a numerous army assembled, with which he passed the Danube, but he did not undertake any the least thing during the whole campaign. The Porte, in this war, observed a policy which it had never before practised; it permitted M. Wischniakoff, minister of Russia, to withdraw from the Turkish territories; whereas, formerly, its custom constantly was to arrest the ministers of such courts as it was going to war with, and to send them prisoners to the Seven Towers, until peace was made.

Munich having made all the necessary arrangements for opening the campaign early, went, at the beginning of the month of March, to St. Anne, a fort which had been

built on the frontier of Turkey, about eight leagues from Azoph. He there assembled six regiments of infantry, three regiments of dragoons, and 3000 Cossacks of the Don. The commandant of Azoph having intelligence of this, sent one of his officers to the marshal to congratulate him upon his arrival on the frontier, feigning not to have the least apprehension of any attack; but giving him all possible assurances of friendship, with abundance of offers of service on his own part; and adding, that he hoped the same disposition existed in marshal Munich, as he could not entertain a belief that he was come into those parts with any bad intentions against the Porte, there having been no war declared, and he, on his side, having never given any cause of complaint. The Turkish officer was very civilly received by the marshal, who caused his forces to defile before him, and managed the parade of them in such a manner as to make this small force appear an army of 20,000 men. After this he sent him back to Azoph without any positive answer, only charging him with his compliments to the Bashaw.

Hitherto it had actually been the custom every year to assemble near the fort of St. Anne a body of troops, which commonly remained encamped there for five or six months; and this circumstance tended to diminish the enemy's suspicions. But on the 27th of March, Munich passed the Don, and began his march upon Azoph. Before break of day on the 31st, the army being upon the march, major-general Sparreuter was detached with 600 foot and a party of Cossacks of the Don, that were to serve for the vanguard, and to drive in the advanced posts of the enemy. He pushed on with so much caution and rapidity, that he got to the two castles, situate on the banks of the Don near Azoph, without having been perceived by the enemy. These he attacked, and carried

them without the loss of a single man. The marshal, who had at the same time advanced near to the town with his army, seized several positions, and caused redoubts to be constructed at convenient distances to cover his troops from any sallies from it, entirely blockading it on the land side. The Bashaw had, for the whole day, kept firing cannon, as a signal to the inhabitants of the neighbourhood that he was about to be attacked, and that they should retire into the town; but all those people chose rather to seek shelter among the Tartars of the Kuban.

On the 3rd of April, the marshal ordered the fort of Lutick to be attacked in the night-time. It also was carried with very little loss, there being but a lieutenant and three men killed, and twelve wounded. They found there twenty cannons, iron and brass. Fifty janissaries and an officer were taken prisoners, and at least as many had been killed. It was the same general Sparreuter who was at the head of this detachment. On the 4th, general Lewaschew arrived in camp with a regiment of dragoons, and three regiments of infantry. Munich gave him the command of the troops that were to continue the blockade of Azoph on the land side, till the arrival of count Lacy, to whom the siege of the place was entrusted.

On the 5th of April Munich left the camp before Azoph, in order to put himself at the head of the grand army that was forming near Zaritzinka, a little town situate at the extremity of the lines of the Ukrain, at the distance of two leagues from the Dnieper. He arrived there on the 18th. There were already at the rendezvous several regiments of foot and dragoons, under the orders of the Prince of Hesse Homburg. The rest of the army got there on the 19th, 20th, and 21st. It consisted of twelve regiments of dragoons, fifteen of foot, ten of militia, ten squadrons of hussars, and 12,000 Cossacks, of whom 5,000 were of the Don, 3,000 Zaporavians, and the rest

from the Ukrain; so that, on the whole, the army amounted to about 54,000 men. The generals, who served in this campaign under Munich, were the Prince of Hesse Homburg, grand-master of the ordnance, lieutenant-generals Leontew and Ishmaëlow, and major-generals Spiegel, Prince Repnin, Magnus Biron, Stoffeln, Hein, Tarakanow, Lesley, and Aractschew.

The regiments were served with an allowance of two months' bread, and the officers had orders to provide themselves for at least that time. The marshal would gladly have taken with him a greater quantity of provisions for the army. There had been store enough laid in during the winter, but there was a deficiency of transport for more. Yet the marshal would not for that delay the opening of the campaign, but left the care of this concern to lieutenant-general Prince Troubeltzkoi, with orders to send him on large convoys as soon as ever he could procure draught-beasts, and follow them himself. Several regiments that, having had their winter-quarters at too great a distance from the frontier, could not arrive time enough at the rendezvous of the grand army, were ordered to escort the convoys. But the Prince Troubeltzkoi, far from seconding the marshal's ardour, acted so remissly and with so much slowness, that he had not finished every thing when the army got back into the Ukrain. The convoys he did send were too scanty to suffice for the subsistence of the army, which suffered greatly by famine, as will hereafter appear. Another great reason that determined Munich to take the field at once, was, that never having made war in that country, he knew nothing of the Crimea but what he had learnt from the Cossacks, who had been there in the course of their trade*, and he believed

* A trade in cattle. Its fertility was as a grazing country,

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that as it was an extremely fertile country, the army would, as soon as it arrived there, find subsistence enough in the enemy's territories, without needing adventitious supplies.

The army was divided into five columns. The general Spiegel led the first, which constituted the vanguard, with three regiments of infantry, three regiments of dragoons, and a part of the light troops. The Prince of Hesse Homburg led the second; lieutenant-general Leontew, the third; lieutenant-general Ishmaëlow, the fourth; and major-general Tarakanow, the fifth.

The marshal for the most part marched at the head of the vanguard. Four of these columns were separate from each other about the distance of a march. The general Tarakanow followed more slowly, not having got to the rendezvous at the time the others set out. The army pursued its march along the Dnieper, or at only a small distance from that river, till near Kamenoï Saton, opposite to Setz, the capital of the Zaporavian Cossacks. It was there that the four first columns assembled, on the 10th of May.

The army made five more marches still without seeing anything of the enemy. At length, on the 17th of May, being encamped on the small river Drouschka, a party of as near as could be guessed 100 men showed themselves at about half a league's distance from the advanced posts. The Cossacks instantly pursued them, but could not overtake one. The next day, a more considerable body of the enemy approached the right wing of the army, and again retired without so much as coming to a skirmish with the Cossacks.

May 19.—The marshal sent off five detachments, each composed of 400 dragoons, and 150 Cossacks; and as this country is one vast plain, these detachments had orders to

march at certain distances, within view of each other, and to close up to that one which was nearest the enemy, should he appear. General Spiegel had all these divisions under his command. They had not advanced above two leagues before they met with a party of about 200 Nogay Tartars, who fled the instant that they saw them from afar; but the Cossacks overtook them, killed some, and made two prisoners. The general, having orders to get as near the enemy as he could, had hardly proceeded two leagues farther, before he was obliged to unite all the detachments as quickly as possible. A body of 20,000 men appeared advancing rapidly upon him. Spiegel had but just time to form a square of his dragoons, ordering the first rank to dismount, when he found himself entirely surrounded. The enemy attacked with the most horrid yells, and poured a cloud of arrows on him. The dragoons, without being in the least disconcerted, reserved their fire, never discharging their pieces but when they were sure of their mark. This kept the Tartars in such awe, that they durst not approach within 100 paces of the square. They contented themselves with harassing the troops on all sides, firing off some carbines, and letting fly a prodigious quantity of arrows. Marshal Munich, being apprised of the danger in which general Spiegel was, put himself at the head of 3000 dragoons and 2000 Cossacks, and marched directly with general Leontew, to his relief. The colonel Dewitz, with ten companies of grenadiers and picquets of all the foot, followed close after. As soon as the enemy saw them approach they retreated with precipitation, leaving above 200 dead upon the spot. Spiegel had stood their attack for above six hours together and had not above fifty killed and wounded; among these last were he himself and colonel Weisbach. The greater part of the wounds were from arrows.

This action produced a great effect on both sides. The Tartars began to stand more in awe of the Russians than they had done, while these on the other hand conceived a hearty contempt for their enemies; and this first impression greatly contributed to the victories which they afterwards gained over the latter in the course of this war.

It was ascertained from the prisoners, that the Khan with his whole army consisting of above 100,000 men, was encamped at twenty leagues distance from this spot, and that the body which had retreated was commanded by the Kalga Sultan.* He had been sent to reconnoitre the Russians, of whose march the Khan had been apprised only ten days before.

The army all advanced to the field of Spiegel's battle, the name of which was Czernaia Dolina, or Black-Soil.† Here they encamped. On May 21st, for the first time, they marched in form of a hollow square, having the baggage in the middle; and this order was observed during the whole war, whenever the army found itself near the enemy. Some more prisoners, whom the Cossacks took, confirmed the statement that the army of the enemy was at least 100,000 strong; adding withal, that all the inhabitants of the Crimea had been obliged to take up arms for the defence of their lines. The army encamped at a place called Tatarskie Kolodesi, which signifies the Tartars' Wells. There is no brook for above four leagues round; but on digging the earth, you find

* The Kalga Sultan is the title of the generalissimo of the Tartars of the Crimea. It is the first post in that country; the Khan generally bestows it on his brother, or the nearest of his relations, and the Kalga Sultan commonly succeeds to the Khan. (Note of the French editor.)

† Patches of the black mould appear here and there in the midst of the limestone surface of the steppes of southern Russia.

very good water at no more than a foot from the surface.

The army remained a few days in this camp. On the 24th, the Cossacks intercepted two couriers coming from Constantinople, upon whom were found some letters from the Grand Vizier to the Khan, in which he absolutely denied him all hope of receiving any succours during that campaign. There were even some expressions of anger against the Tartars for having brought this new war upon the Porte.

On the 26th of May, the army made a march of six French leagues, and encamped on the small river Kalantschi. Scarce had it marched out of its former camp, when the square was surrounded by Tartars, who attacked them on all sides, with hideous cries. The Russians fired no small arms at them, but used their field-pieces with such effect, that the first shots killed a great number. This struck such terror into them, that they fled in a hurry, and took shelter behind the lines.

On the 28th, the army pitched its camp within cannon-shot of Perekop. The two following days were employed in erecting batteries, and on the completion of these they began to bombard the town.

As soon as the army had arrived near the lines, Munich sent a letter to the Khan, acquainting him that he was sent on the part of the empress, to punish the Tartars for the frequent incursions they had made into the Ukrain, that he was proceeding to execute this order, and lay all the Crimea waste; but nevertheless if the Khan would put himself under the protection of her imperial majesty, receive a Russian garrison in Perekop, and bind himself to acknowledge the sovereignty of Russia, he would immediately enter into a negotiation, and cease from all hostilities; but that the surrender of the town of Perekop

was an indispensable preliminary. In answer to this letter the Khan, on the 30th, sent a Mirza, or Tartar gentleman, to Munich, to represent to him that no war having been declared, he was astonished that they should come to attack him in his own country; that the Tartars of the Crimea had never made any irruption into Russia; that if any such there had been, it must have been committed by the Nogays, who, though they had long been under the sovereignty of the Tartars of the Crimea, had never been amenable to order; that to these guilty parties Russia ought to confine her resentment, and punish them at her pleasure, of which, in fact, a beginning had been made the last year. He added, that as to himself, he was too much hampered with the court of Constantinople to be able to break with it; and that as to Perekop, were he even willing to surrender it, the garrison there would not consent, consisting as it did of Turks and being independent of his orders. Meanwhile he entreated the marshal that he would suspend hostilities, as he was ready to enter into immediate negotiation; and he ended by declaring that if attacked he would defend himself as well as he was able.

The marshal finding there was nothing to be done with these Tartars except sword in hand, sent the Mirza back, with the reply, that since his master would not acknowledge the favour shown him by the court of Russia, in offering these mild terms, he would soon see his country pillaged, and his town burnt; and that Tartar faith was too well known to be trusted on the bare proposal of a negotiation. The messenger being dispatched, the marshal ordered the army to hold itself in readiness for marching.

As soon as the tattoo was beat, the regiments stood to their arms, and marched. None were left in the camp but

the sick, and ten men from each company to guard the baggage. The army marched by its right in six columns. The 1500 men that had been told off for the batteries had 1000 added to them, with orders to approach the right * of the lines, and to make a false attack an hour before daybreak to draw the attention of the enemy to that side. The army marched all night in profound silence. They rested about an hour, waiting the break of day, at about a quarter of a league's distance from the lines. The Tartars, who had known nothing of the march of the army, and who had directed the greatest part of their forces to the side of the false attack, were much surprised when they saw the Russian army formed in six columns, in order of battle, on their left.

The Russian troops marched with a proud bearing to the attack. The fire of the enemy was at first extremely brisk; and the soldiers were a little astonished on coming to the side of the ditch, to find it so deep and so broad; but as it was dry they threw themselves into it, and, pressing on, assisted one another to clamber with their pikes and bayonets; the artillery, in the mean while, keeping up a constant fire against the parapet. The Tartars, seeing how serious the affair began to be, did not wait for the soldiers mounting to the top, but betook themselves to flight, abandoning their camp, which indeed was poorly enough provided. There did not then remain any the least impediment to the troops passing the lines, which are extraordinary works, as may be judged by the following summary description.

Their length is about seven wersts, or near two French leagues, extending from the sea of Azoph, or *Palus Mœotis*, to the Black Sea. There is but one entrance,

* This would be the proper right of the fortifications of Perekop, *i. e.* the nearest point to the Siwasch.

viz. by the main road to the town of Perekop, and this is included in the lines. Along the lines there are six towers of stone, mounted with cannon. The ditch is twelve toises broad, and seven deep. The height from the bottom of the ditch to the crest of the parapet is seventy feet, and the thickness of the parapet is in proportion. Five thousand men had, for several years together, been at work to put the lines into this condition, and the Tartars imagined them impregnable. True it is, that any other troops than they might have made the passing them very difficult; and yet the entry into the Crimea would not have been the less practicable, had they not been passed. For it was afterwards discovered, that the arm of the sea of Azoph joining to these lines*, dries up in summer, so as not to have above three feet of water; so that the lines may be turned. The count Lacy entered the Crimea on that side, the two campaigns following.†

The towers which, as I just remarked, are along the lines, still retained their garrison, consisting of janissaries. That which was nearest to the army kept up a fire of cannon, and killed some of the Russians. Upon this, Munich ordered the Prince of Hesse Homburg to send an officer with a detachment to storm it. The captain of the grenadiers ‡ of the regiment of Petersburg, happening to be near the prince when he received the order, requested to be sent on this service. The prince granted his request, and he marched with sixty men of his company. The gate was forced open with hatchets, not-

* The Siwasch.

† The French justifies the translation, being "les deux compagnes suivantes," but this is no doubt an inaccurate expression; for in 1737, Lacy, according to Manstein, entered the Crimea by the spit of Arabat. In 1738, he really did cross the Siwasch in the part here referred to.

‡ Manstein, the author of these Memoirs. (Note of the French editor.)

withstanding the fire of the Turks, and the captain entering with his men, offered quarter to the enemy. They accepted it, and were beginning to lay down their arms, when a grenadier giving a stroke with his bayonet to a janissary, the other Turks, irritated at this action, seized their sabres again and stood to their defence. They killed six grenadiers, and wounded sixteen including the captain; in revenge for which, the whole 160, that constituted the garrison of this tower, were massacred to a man. Those in the other towers were wiser; they fled in time, and followed the Tartars. The whole of this day cost the Russian army only one officer and thirty rank and file killed, and one officer and 176 rank and file wounded. The marshal then sent for a working party of 2000, who opened the lines in several parts to allow the baggage to pass and join the army, which encamped on the other side. General Tarakanoff, with the regiments of militia which he had under his orders, entered the camp which the army had left the night before.*

Munich next ordered the Bashaw, the commandant of Perekop, to be summoned to surrender the place. He asked a truce of twenty-four hours to consider of it, which was granted him; and on the 1st of June, he sent two officers to the marshal, to demand a free passage out with his garrison to go and join the Khan of Tartary. But it was insisted upon, that they should surrender as prisoners of war. However upon his refusal to do this, it was promised him, after several parleys, that he should be escorted to the nearest seaport, and be embarked there with his garrison and attendants for Turkey, upon engaging not to serve against the Russians for two years to come. But this capitulation was not observed. On coming out

* The last two sentences are found only in the French edition.

of the town, the commandant with his whole garrison of 2554 men, were made prisoners of war; and when he complained of this treatment, he was told for answer, that the Porte and the Khan had detained above 200 Russian merchants, contrary to the stipulation made in the last treaty, and that he and his men would not be released till those were set at liberty.

The place of the Turkish garrison was now supplied by 800 grenadiers. Count Munich took up his quarters in the town, the magazines in which were not over well provided. There were found sixty cannon in the place and in the towers, some with the Russian arms upon them, which had been lost in the unfortunate expedition that Prince Galitzin had made into the Crimea the century before. The town of Perekop contains about 800 houses, the greatest part of which are of wood; the streets are, as in all Turkish towns, very narrow; the walls are flanked with towers, built in the ancient manner of fortification, but of a kind of bad sandstone that crumbles away at the first cannon shot. In short, Perekop was in no condition to stand a siege of long duration.

The marshal put the regiment of Beloser into the town, and made Dewitz, colonel of that regiment, commandant of the place. He left him besides 600 Cossacks, and made the other requisite dispositions for holding the lines.

On the 4th of June, Lieutenant-general Leontew was detached with 10,000 regulars, and 3000 Cossacks, toward Kinburn, a small fortified town near the mouth of the Dnieper, opposite to Ockzakow, with orders to take it, and hinder the Tartars of Budziack from passing that river.*

* At this time there was a ferry across from Ockzakow. Tott describes the distance as being more than two leagues; of which all but a small space in the middle was performed by punting. It took him three hours to get over. (Mémoires, vol. ii. p. 88.)

On the same day, the marshal held a council of war upon the operations to be resolved on for the remainder of the campaign. The opinion of almost all the generals was, to encamp with the army near Perekop until the end of the campaign, and only to send parties into the country to lay it waste. But Munich, whose mind was set upon nothing less than the conquest of the Crimea, did not relish this advice. He urged upon the others that they would gain nothing by that; that the reduction of Perekop would be of no service if they did not pursue their victory; that it was dangerous to send out small parties, as they could not penetrate any considerable way into the country without being cut off or defeated. The generals represented, on the other hand, that the army not having bread for above twelve days, there was a necessity for at least awaiting the arrival of the first convoys with provisions. To this Munich rejoined, that as the army was in an enemy's country, it was but right to endeavour to subsist it at his expense; that the chief advantage which the court of Russia could derive from the campaign was, that they should not give those robbers a moment's breathing-time, but should ruin their whole country, if it were not found practicable to effect a more solid settlement in it. At the same time, he ordered the army to be ready for marching the next day. From this moment marshal Munich and the Prince of Hesse Homburg ceased to be friends; and the conduct of the prince, during this campaign and the ensuing one, did him little honour.

It was on the 5th of June that the marshal left the neighbourhood of Perekop to penetrate into the interior of the Crimea. The Tartars had entirely surrounded the army, (which kept on constantly marching in a square,) and harassed it incessantly but always at a good distance; and if they approached within cannon-shot, it was only

firing a few rounds at them, and they presently took to flight.

On June the 8th, they might have gained a great advantage over the Russians, if they had but known how to avail themselves of the opportune moment. The army marching on the road to Koslov*, arrived at an arm of the sea called Baltshick, which it was necessary to pass. They had no bridge; but the Cossacks discovered several fords by which the army passed, and this made an opening of more than 1500 paces in the square. On the Tartars seeing this, a troop of about 200 horse broke into it at full speed; but instead of charging the troops, they went straight to the baggage for plunder, while their main army, which was not above a cannon-shot distant, remained tranquil spectators. This inaction gave time to the Russians to close their ranks again, and enclose the enemy, of whom a part were killed, but the rest had courage enough to cut their way out.

On the 9th, the army halted. The marshal having notice that the enemy were encamped at not more than three leagues from him, detached in the evening all the grenadiers of the army, 1500 dragoons, and 2000 Cossacks of the Don, under major-general Hein, with orders to march on through the night, using all possible precautions, and to try to surprise the enemy at break of day.

If any other than general Hein had been pitched upon for this expedition, it would in all probability have succeeded, and the best part of the enemy's army have been destroyed; but this man, instead of hastening his march, amused himself half the night with parading his troops, and then proceeded very slowly. The Cossacks of the Don who had gone on in advance, fell, by break of day, upon the camp of the Tartars, whom they found for the

* Eupatoria.

most part asleep, and immediately put to the sword all that came in their way. In the mean time, the alarm spreading through the camp of the enemy, they mounted and rode out, and seeing they had none but Cossacks to deal with, they attacked them in their turn, and obliged them to retreat with considerable loss; indeed they would have totally defeated them, had they not perceived the advance of the detachment under general Hein. At the sight of these troops they themselves fled, and abandoned their camp, with a great quantity of forage and a number of tents.

The marshal had begun his march with the whole army at the first break of day; and coming up, he pitched his camp on the ground which the enemy had just quitted. The loss had been nearly equal on both sides, of about 300 men each; and the chief difference was, that the enemy had lost several officers of distinction. Hein, who had failed to execute the marshal's orders, was put under arrest, and tried by a court-martial, which condemned him to be degraded from his rank and nobility, and to serve the rest of his life as a private dragoon in the militia. This sentence was executed to the letter,—a punishment rigorous enough for one single act of cowardice, or perhaps only of stupidity, for want of knowing how to make the proper dispositions; but such strictness is indispensably necessary in Russia, where instances of mildness do not make so much impression as examples of severity, none being accustomed to do any thing except they are compelled to it by force; and this principle obtains so widely, that it is rare to give any instructions to an officer, without adding a string of threats, in the event of his neglecting to execute them.*

* The last clause of the sentence is found only in the French edition.

Though the project of surprising and defeating the Tartars had not altogether succeeded, yet they durst not, after that affair, encamp so near the Russian army, which was several days without seeing them, except in small parties and at a great distance.

The army still continued its march towards Koslov, and on the 15th of June arrived within two leagues of the town, in which they saw a great fire. On the 16th, count Munich detached all the grenadiers of the army, with the Cossacks of the Don, and the Zaporavians, under the command of general Magnus Biron, to attack Koslov. They found the gates of the town open, and all the suburbs burnt; the Tartars having set fire to the greatest part of the houses belonging to the Christian merchants. All the Turkish inhabitants had retreated towards Bachtschi-Serai, and the Turkish garrison had embarked on board thirty vessels for Constantinople. There remained in the town only about forty Armenian merchants.

Koslov has good stone-walls, flanked with great towers; the ditch is cut into the rock, and of considerable breadth. The port is very good and spacious, capable of containing more than 200 vessels. It is the chief trading town of the Crimea. There are about 2500 houses in it, most of them of stone. It has some fine mosques, and the Christians have a church in the suburb. The Turks commonly keep a garrison of 3000 men in it. The inhabitants had, on their retreat, endeavoured as much as possible to conceal their effects, burying them under ground, or throwing them into wells; but the Cossacks and soldiers soon found them out, and made a very great booty in gold and silver, pearls, rich stuffs, clothes, &c. There was in particular so great a quantity of copper-vessels, that it was impossible to carry them all away. There were, besides, found twenty-one brass cannon, and a pro-

digious quantity of lead; as also stores of rice and wheat sufficient to form a magazine for an army much more numerous than the Russian. Marshal Munich caused thirty-four days' allowance of these to be distributed to the whole army, for it had already begun to be in want of bread.

Water also had been very scanty on the road from Perekop to Koslov. The Tartars, in their flight from the villages, not content with consuming and burning all the provisions, had spoilt the water of the wells, by throwing every sort of filth into them; and river-water is very scarce in those countries, there being between Perekop and Koslov, which is a distance of thirty-five French leagues, only three streams of fresh water; for in the Crimea there are lakes of salt water, from which issue rivulets the water of which is not drinkable. It may easily be imagined that this caused the troops to suffer a good deal, and that disease could not fail of becoming rife among them. But what completed the enfeebling them was, that the common soldiers, who are not used to eat other than sour bread made of rye, were obliged to eat the sweet bread of wheat, which they ground themselves in handmills that were taken in the villages through which the army passed, and which they found all reduced to ashes. The Cossacks had found means to carry off 10,000 sheep, and some hundreds of horned cattle, which delighted the soldiers extremely, for they had not eaten a bit of flesh-meat for fifteen days past.

On the 18th of June, major-general Lesly reached the army, with a convoy of some provisions he had brought from the Ukrain, under the escort of 2000 men. He had been attacked on the 17th by the whole army of the enemy, but he had made so good an use of two field-pieces which he had taken with him from Perekop, that

the enemy, after having harassed him for four hours together, and lost a great number, was obliged to retreat. The Tartars had come as far as the *chevaux de frise*, so near, that the general killed one of them with his own hand, by a stroke of his sword.

The army remained encamped five days near Koslov, to rest, and to have bread baked. On the 21st, they resumed their march for Bachtschi-Serai, keeping along the shore of the Black Sea.

Since the troops entered the Crimea, they had never found provisions of all kinds in such plenty as now; for the enemy, not having imagined that they would take this road, had destroyed nothing. Munich, to deceive them the more, had had it given out, that he was returning straight to Perekop by another road. The Tartars were deceived by this, and laid waste all the other side of the country.

On the 22nd, the marshal dispatched lieutenant-general Ishmaëlow, and major-general Lesly, with two regiments of dragoons, four regiments of foot, and some Cossacks, to the left of the army, to dislodge the enemy from some villages. They made a greater resistance than had been expected, but at length were forced to take to flight. There was found a great quantity of cattle, which were brought to the army, and distributed to the soldiers. The Russians had, in this affair, an officer, three soldiers, and two Cossacks killed, and a major and twenty men wounded. On the same day, intelligence was got from some prisoners, that the Khan expected 6000 or 7000 Turks, which the Capitan Bashaw was sending him from the fleet, that had arrived in the port of Caffa, after failing to effect any thing against the Russians before Azoph.

On the 27th, the army reached the gorges of the hills that cover the plateau round about Bachtschi-Serai. The

enemy was discovered opposite to them, advantageously posted on the eminences. As the road which had to be passed to get to Bachtschi-Serai was extremely difficult, it was necessary to steal a march upon the enemy; the marshal, therefore, resolved to go with none but the flower of his army, leaving all the baggage and the sick, with the rest of the troops, behind, under the orders of major-general Spiegel. As soon as the tattoo was beat in the evening, he began his march, and continued it with so much order and celerity, that he turned the position of the enemy without their knowing in the least anything of the matter; and they were much surprised at seeing, at the break of day, the Russians close upon Bachtschi-Serai. A body of Tartars intermixed with janissaries advanced and furiously charged the Cossacks of the Don, and the Wlodimer regiment of foot posted near them; attacking with such vigour that they made the Cossacks give way, and took a cannon of the infantry regiment; but the marshal causing five other regiments to advance, with some pieces of cannon, under major-general Lesly, the enemy could not long stand the fire, but fled, and left behind them the field-piece which they had taken.

After the retreat of the enemy, Munich sent one fourth of the army into the town, to plunder it, while the rest remained under arms. All the inhabitants had quitted their houses, and carried off the best of their effects into the mountains; but notwithstanding there was still a considerable booty made.

Bachtschi-Serai signifies the Garden-palace, and is the usual residence of the Khan of the Crimea. It is situate in a deep valley, and contains about 2000 houses, of which one third belong to Christians of the Greek rite, who have a church there. Here is also a mission of Jesuits; but as they had been obliged to follow the Khan,

their dwelling and library were as little spared as the other houses. The palace of the Khan, which contained several spacious buildings, tolerably handsome and very clean, was, as well as the whole town, reduced to ashes. [It had no fortification.]

As soon as the enemy had been driven from Bachtschi-Serai, they detached a large body of troops to attack general Spiegel and the baggage-train. They found the Cossacks of the Ukrain outside the camp, busy in foraging. These they attacked, and gained some advantage over them, killing 200 and making some prisoners; but they could make no impression on the regulars; they several times attacked the barricades formed with the baggage-waggons, but were always repulsed with loss, so that at length they abandoned their enterprise.

The army quitted the neighbourhood of Bachtschi-Serai, on June the 29th, and encamped on the river Alma, where it was joined by the baggage.

On July the 3rd the marshal detached lieutenant-general Ishmaëlow and major-general Biron, with 8000 regulars, 2000 Cossacks, and ten pieces of cannon, to attack the town of Ach-Metzid*, or Sultan-Seraï (this last signifies the palace of the Sultan), which is the residence of the Kalga Sultan, and of the principal Mirzas. They found hardly any one in it, the inhabitants having quitted it two days before. All the provisions were carried to the camp; and the town itself, which contained about 1800 houses, mostly of wood, was reduced to ashes. The enemy attacked this detachment on its return, and met with the usual reception. The Russians had four soldiers and six Cossacks killed, and a few wounded.

* Simferopol. The Tartar name *Akmetshet* is equivalent to the English *Whitchurch*. For the Kalga Sultan, see the note on p. 104.

Since that day, the army never saw the enemy but at a distance and in small parties. A Georgian, who had made his escape from slavery, brought advice, that the Turks had retreated on Caffa, and the Tartars into the mountains, in the resolution not to trouble themselves any longer to no purpose in disputing the passes, but only to have small parties of observation follow the Russian army.

Hitherto the army had constantly kept the road to Caffa, and the marshal would have been very glad to make himself master of it, and occupy it permanently, but the army was visibly diminishing; a third of it was sick, and the rest so weak, that they could hardly drag their legs after them. I have above mentioned some of the reasons of this, to which may be added the heat, which is excessive in the Crimea during this season, so that it was decided to return to Perekop, to give the troops rest during the height of the warm weather.

The enemy had laid the whole country waste round Caffa, and burnt all the villages, to deprive the Russians of subsistence,—a measure they much repented, when they saw the latter take the road to Perekop.

On July 17th, the army encamped near Perekop, and were extremely rejoiced at finding biscuit for fifteen days there. This the major-general Arachtschew had brought from the Ukrain, together with two regiments of dragoons. On this occasion a good number of sutlers arrived, with wine and other provisions, and the troops, after all the fatigues they had undergone, saw something like abundance in the camp.

On the 18th, colonel Wedell arrived, with a reinforcement of three regiments of dragoons, who had been stationed upon the Don, and under their escort came another convoy of provisions, although but an inconsider-

able one. Forage being very scarce within the lines, Wedell had orders to encamp in the steppe, six leagues off Perekop. The marshal, on his arrival there, received advice from general Leontew, that he had, with his body of troops, advanced to near Kinburn, whence he had sent an aide-de-camp to summon the commandant, who immediately entered into negotiation, and surrendered the place upon condition of being allowed to retire to Ockzakow with his garrison, consisting of 2000 janissaries. The taking this town therefore did not cost Russia a single man; and, indeed, in the whole expedition, there had not been above three or four men killed in any one skirmish. Two hundred and fifty Russians, detained in slavery at Kinburn, were delivered up; and in the town there were found forty-nine brass cannon, and 3000 horses.

The Cossacks, under the orders of Leontew, had carried off 30,000 sheep, and 400 or 500 horned cattle, which the inhabitants had concealed in a wood.* After the reduction of Kinburn Leontew remained quiet, with his troops encamped under the fort, having nothing for them

* By this expression is probably meant the brushwood which grows along the sides of the ravines which intersect the steppe, and run generally in a direction from north to south. Tott, who went through Kinburn to Perekop, which was the regular road into the Crimea at that time, (1767), passed the first night he spent in Bessarabia in such a ravine, and gives a most interesting description of the Tartar camp which he found in it. (Mémoires, vol. ii. pp. 67. *seqq.*) These ravines are, in fact, the water-courses, by which the snow-water drains off the steppe. They are about a quarter of a mile broad, and sometimes sixty or seventy miles long, sunk thirty or forty feet below the surface. At the bottom, even in the summer, there is often a succession of pools of stagnant water, which, disgusting as it is to the eye, is a most precious boon to the shepherds in the violent heats. The opportunity which such ravines give for the surprising an enemy ignorant of their existence is obvious. At a few hundred yards off their existence would not be suspected.

to do; as neither Turks nor Tartars of Budziack attempted to pass the Dnieper.

The Turkish garrison of Perekop, made prisoners as above mentioned*, who had been carried with the army throughout its march, were sent to the Ukrain under a strong escort; for the Khan not having released the Russian merchants whom he kept prisoners against the stipulations of the last treaty, the court of Petersburg thought it had a right to use reprisals with this garrison.

Upon advices which the marshal received, that the arm of the Sea of Azoph, adjoining the lines of Perekop, was fordable in many places, and that the Tartars were, by that way, sending strong detachments to attack the redoubts, which had been constructed in the steppe in order to facilitate the communications with the Ukrain, and the arrival of the convoys from thence, he sent general Spiegel, with five regiments of dragoons and 2000 Cossacks, to hinder the enemy from getting out of the Crimea, and to make an exact survey of the fords. But notwithstanding all the precautions that the marshal could take these brigands found means, from time to time, to carry off horses and cattle from the army, especially after its return to Perekop; for the forage failing all round the camp, they were obliged to send the horses to the other side of the lines, at a distance of six leagues from the camp. This, it is true, was never done but under a good guard, and yet the Tartars surprised several, and in fifteen days carried off more than as many hundred horses. Light parties were often sent after them, but there was no overtaking them.

To economise the provisions and forage, which became every day more and more scarce, the Zaporavian Cossacks,

* Page 109.

and those of the Ukrain, were allowed to return home. The former had orders to send out frequent reconnaissances in the direction of Ockzakow and Bender, to get intelligence of the designs of the Turks, and of the strength of their army.

The marshal having represented to the court the impossibility of maintaining his ground in the Crimea, received orders to return into the Ukrain with his army. To facilitate his march, he detached major-general Biron, with six regiments of dragoons and 2000 Cossacks of the Don, to escort the sick.

On August 25th, 3000 men were ordered to raze the lines in several places, and to demolish the towers. There were also mines made under the walls of Perekop. On the 27th all the artillery and the garrison were withdrawn from the place, and on the 28th, in the morning, the Russian army moved out of the Crimea, marching in two columns. About an hour afterwards, the mines were sprung, and threw down a part of the walls; and some houses of the town.

The army marched on very quietly, from its leaving the Crimea, till the 27th of September, when it arrived on the banks of the Samara*, without the enemy having once dared to attack them. They were too much delighted at seeing themselves rid of such troublesome guests, and had, besides, too much to do to get themselves into something like order again, to think of molesting the Russians in their retreat.

On Sept. 2nd, general Leontew rejoined the army, with the body of troops under his command, and brought to it 20,000 out of the 30,000 sheep he had taken. They were distributed among the army. Spiegel, who had been sent to hinder the Tartars from passing the fords of the Siwasch

* This river is that which falls into the Dnieper from the East, at Ekaterinoslaff.

had orders to march direct to Backmout, and to reconnoitre the ground thoroughly, in order to ascertain whether it was easier to march into the Crimea by that way, or along the Dnieper. The conclusion was, that they would not only be gainers in point of distance, but that the stations would be more convenient in the matter of wood and water. Accordingly marshal Lacy, who commanded the expeditions into the Crimea in the two following campaigns, took that route. Spiegel was attacked once only upon his march, and having repulsed the enemy with a considerable loss, they durst not repeat the experiment.

The marshal having arrived at the river Samara, reviewed all his regiments, and found those that had gone through the march into the Crimea with him terribly crippled. All of them had been complete * at the opening of the campaign, and now there was not one that could muster 600 men under arms, so that one half of this army had perished in one campaign; and what is more remarkable, not 2000 had been killed [or taken] by the enemy, including even the loss of the Cossacks. There were none but the body of troops detached under lieutenant-general Leontew that were in unimpaired condition, and he had had no loss, having remained quiet in his camp at Kinburn after the capture of that town.

The regiments were sent back into winter-quarters in the Ukrain, but care was taken so to distribute them, that they could assemble at the shortest warning, in case of the Tartars attempting an invasion of the Russian territory in the winter.

* A regiment of foot at that time had two battalions, and was composed of 1280 rank and file; and with the officers, non-commissioned officers, &c. amounted to 1575 men. The complement of a regiment of dragoons, including officers, non-commissioned officers and privates, was 1231. (Note of the French editor.)

While marshal Munich had been engaged in the Crimea, general Lacy had carried on the siege of Azoph, of which I shall here set down the most remarkable particulars.

Munich having quitted the body of troops which was to carry on this siege, general Lewaschew, being left in command till the arrival of Count Lacy, increased the stringency of the blockade, and took particular care to fortify his camp, so as to be at his ease with regard to any attack from the besieged; their garrison being at the least as numerous as the regular troops the Russians had before the place.

On April 14th, 300 horse and as many foot of the garrison made a sortie to carry off a convoy of 150 waggons, that were escorted by only a lieutenant and 100 men; but this officer, seeing from a good distance the Turks coming towards him, formed a retrenchment of these waggons, and defended himself so well for more than two hours, that he gave the Cossacks time to come to his assistance, and the enemy was driven back to the town again.

The besiegers, not discouraged by this bad success, ventured two days afterwards another sally with 1000 janissaries and 500 horse, and attacked the redoubts which had been built to blockade the place. Their cavalry fell impetuously on the Cossacks of the Don, posted between the redoubts, while the janissaries attacked one of these with all imaginable bravery, but they were several times repulsed, and at length put to flight, and pursued up to the glacis. The enemy lost above 100 men in this affair, together with the commanding officer of the party. The besiegers had in all but seventeen men killed and wounded.

On May 6th, almost the whole garrison sallied out of the town to attack the Russian army. The general, who

had received previous information, posted the Cossacks of the Don in an ambuscade, where they waited till the greatest part of the enemy had passed; and then, rushing out on a sudden, they attacked them at once in flank and rear, overthrew all in their way, and obliged them to fly for shelter to their walls, with a considerable loss. After this encounter, the besieged remained quiet for some time. At last on the 15th, general Lacy arrived in the camp before Azoph, having narrowly escaped being taken by the Tartars.

This general, whom the empress had, in the month of February, raised to the rank of marshal, had commanded the auxiliary troops sent to the Emperor of Germany. These he had orders to quit, and repair to Azoph in order to take charge of the siege. To accelerate his arrival at the army, he had taken but a small escort of Cossacks, who rode before his post-chaise, at some hundreds of paces distant. In the way from the lines of the Ukrain to Izioum, it is necessary to pass a steppe about three French leagues broad. The escort was attacked by a party of Tartars, who were hovering in the neighbourhood, and all the Cossacks dispersed or taken, so that the marshal had scarcely time to save himself on horseback. He owed his escape as it was purely to the Tartars being unable to resist the desire of pillaging his carriage; for without the help of the delay so caused, it would have been impossible for him to have got off from them.

On the same day that Lacy arrived before Azoph, the trenches were opened, and pushed on with great spirit. The generals, who commanded under the marshal, were general Lewaschew, lieutenant-general count Douglass, and major-generals Brigny the elder, Brilly, Sparreuter, and Brigny the younger.

On May 19th, the vice-admiral Bredal, who had come

down the Don with fifteen galleys, nine prahms, and a great number of other vessels, arrived off Azoph, having the battering train on board, which was immediately landed. The same day a reinforcement of four regiments of foot and two of dragoons arrived in camp. On the 20th, major-general Brigny was ordered with 400 foot, and 150 Cossacks, to seize a post near the entrenchment that covered the town. He succeeded, and made a lodgment there. Upon this, the enemy made a sally with 300 horse, and 500 janissaries, to retake the position. They attacked with such fury, that the detachment of the besiegers was obliged to retreat, with some loss; but Brigny being reinforced in time, the enemy were in their turn repulsed, with a considerable number of men killed. After the artillery was landed, the marshal ordered the vice-admiral Bredal to post himself with his flotilla in such a manner as to batter the town on the side towards the water. This order was admirably executed; the prahms never ceased, night or day, battering the place and throwing bombs into it.

The Turkish fleet, under the Capitan Bashaw Dgianum Codja, entered the Palus Mæotis*, to succour Azoph, but could undertake nothing, the mouth of the Don being almost entirely barred with sands and shoals, so that in the deepest places there were not above three or four feet water; whereas the Russian fleet was so advantageously posted, that the Capitan Bashaw could not send any the least assistance to Azoph, either in shallops or other flat-bottomed vessels, and consequently was obliged to return without doing anything. It is, however, these shoals at the mouth of the Don that were the cause of the Russian

* The Sea of Azoph. Both the French and English edition have this Latin title, which is the more remarkable from the use of the ordinary name in the course of the paragraph.

fleet's not acting more effectively on the Sea of Azoph; as there was no getting any vessels into it, except double sloops and other small flat-bottomed vessels, with which admiral Bredal assisted in the two next campaigns, as will be shown in the sequel.

Lacy, willing to spare his men, had the works carried on only by sap, and this he continued till the 13th of June. In the meanwhile the besieged made several sallies, but without any effect. On the 14th, the besiegers having advanced to within forty paces of the palisaded line, the Turks made a strong sortie upon them, drove them from the trenches, and filled up a part of their works. Marshal Lacy and general Douglass, having hastened in support with fresh troops, ordered an attack on the enemy, who was not only repulsed, but dispossessed of a post which he had maintained within twenty paces off the palisades. The Russians instantly made a lodgment there, and raised three batteries on the spot. They, however, lost a good many men in this encounter; the marshal himself received a gunshot wound in the thigh, and had a narrow escape of being taken prisoner, as he advanced rather too far to animate his men, when he was surrounded by the Turks.

The enemy, not choosing to leave the besiegers in quiet possession of the post they had taken, made continual sallies; but as they were expected, there was a double guard prepared to receive them; and they were always repulsed, and the lodgment and batteries at length secured.

On June 18th, a bomb-shell fell on one of the largest powder-magazines, situated in the middle of the place. Five mosques, and more than a hundred houses, were thrown down with the explosion, and more than 300 men lost their lives by it.

The work of the sap was continued till the 28th of June,

when the besiegers found themselves at the foot of the retrenchment, the enemy having disputed the ground with them inch by inch. Lacy, who began to be tired with the length of the siege, ordered colonel Lohman, with 800 grenadiers, 700 fusileers, and a working-party of 600, to force the line. The attack began at midnight; when the besieged defended themselves with great obstinacy, and sprung two mines, which did no damage. They were at last obliged to take to flight, and to abandon some cannon. They were pursued up to the gates of the town, and the besiegers made a lodgment in the retrenchment. The Russians had no more than twenty men killed and sixty wounded.

On the 29th, the Bashaw commandant sent a letter by an officer to the marshal, to request a capitulation; and on the 1st of July, four Turkish officers, deputed by the commandant, arrived in camp to settle the terms. Lacy insisted a good while on the garrison's surrendering as prisoners of war; but the commandant firmly answered, that rather than yield to those conditions, he would bury himself under the ruins of the town; and it was at length agreed to grant him the liberty of coming out of the town with his troops, without, however, military honours, and being conducted to Abskouk, a town belonging to the Grand Signor, under the condition of not serving for the whole next year against Russia. As soon as this capitulation was signed, the commandant gave the Russians possession of a gate, and on the 4th of July, the Bashaw came out of Azoph at the head of his garrison, which consisted of 3463 men, accompanied by 2233 women and children. In the town there were found 291 Christians, who had been made slaves and were now set free. Sixty-three merchants, part Armenians, part Greeks, staid in the town

The ramparts were mounted with 137 cannon and 11 mortars of brass, and 26 cannon and 4 mortars of iron. There was also in the town a great quantity of ammunition and muniments of war, but very little provisions, the magazines having been destroyed by the bombs, which had spoiled a great part of the victuals, and so obliged the commandant to give up the place sooner than he would otherwise have done; for the Russians had not as yet forced the palisades of the covered-way, nor made the least breach in the body of the place, though the inside was nothing but a heap of ruins, through the great quantity of shells which had been thrown into it.

After the surrender of the place, marshal Lacy set to work to get it restored to a condition of defence, and remained with the army in the neighbourhood till the beginning of August. General Lewaschew was appointed governor, and the elder Brigny commandant of Azoph. Four thousand men were put into it as a garrison, and it was provided with everything needful.

Lacy, having made all the necessary arrangements, had orders from the court to go with the troops under him to join marshal Munich. He was able to take no more than 7000 men with him. With these he began his march. Having advanced as far as the river Calmius, his vanguard met three Cossacks, who said they belonged to the corps commanded by general Spiegel, with which he was marching to Backmout; that they had lost their way in the steppe, and were endeavouring to rejoin him. The marshal could not believe this account, and ordering the Cossacks to be arrested, pursued his march. The next day four other Cossacks were brought to him, who confirmed the statement, adding, that marshal Munich had, with his army, quitted the Crimea, and was on his way back into the Ukrain; upon which Lacy retraced his

steps. Without this lucky meeting of the Cossacks, he would have marched on to the Crimea, and with so small a force as he had with him, have probably run a great risk. It is this march that was the beginning of the quarrel between Munich and Lacy.*

In the beginning of October the marshal arrived at Izioum, and ordered the regiments which composed his army into winter-quarters at the eastern extremities of the lines of the Ukrain, at no great distance from the Donetz. Their quarters were so disposed, that they could assemble and assist one another at any the least notice of the approach of the Tartars. Marshal Lacy had his head-quarters at Charkow.

Scarce had he sent away a part of his troops, when he had advices that the Tartars had made an incursion within the frontiers, carried off a number of people and cattle, and laid several villages in ruins. Upon this he detached Krasnatschoka, the colonel of the Cossacks, at the Don, with 2000 Cossacks and Calmucks, to give them chase. Krasnatschoka marched two days without a moment of rest. At length, on the third, at break of day, it being the 27th of October, he came up with a troop of 200 Tartars, between the river of Konskie and Molotschnie-Wodi, at a place called Waltzien-Bujerak, fell upon them, killed 170, and made the other thirty prisoners. From these he learnt, that a more considerable party, with a brother of the Khan at their head, was in advance of them. Upon this he resumed his march, and came up with them about noon of the same day. This troop consisted of 800 men, part Turks, part Tartars. He attacked and defeated them, killed 300, and took forty-seven Tartars and three Turks prisoners. All the Russian subjects that had been slaves, amounting to the number

* The last sentence is only found in the French edition.

of 3000 men, were set free, and the Cossacks made a booty of 400 horses.

The Porte, not being satisfied with the conduct of the Khan of the Tartars of Crimea, deposed him, and set up the Kalga-Sultan in his place.

The court of Petersburg, not content with having attacked the Porte on the side of the Crimea, and with the capture of Azoph, had a mind to humble the Tartars of the Kuban still more. For this purpose it sent orders to Don-Duc-Ombo, chief or prince of the Calmucks who inhabit the region between Zaritzin and Astrakhan, to invade them in the beginning of April. Accordingly he set out on his march with 20,000 of his subjects. A party, which he had sent to reconnoitre, brought him in a prisoner. Of him they learnt that 5000 kibitkas, or moveable huts of the Tartars, each of which contains a family, had assembled, in order to retire as far as possible into the steppe, there to settle and put their wives and children in a place of safety from the Calmucks. Upon this news Don-Duc-Ombo accelerated his march, and overtook the Tartars between the rivers of Kuban and Orp.* They had posted themselves very advantageously, having formed their waggons in three lines of barricade in front, by way of intrenchment. But this did not hinder Don-Duc-Ombo from attacking them. He put his son Goldan Narma at the head of 10,000 men, and ordered him to force the enemy's barricades. Goldan marched straight up to them, and making his men dismount, at-

* By this name is no doubt meant that river which is called by the Nogays Uarp or Arp, and by the inhabitants of the Kabarda, Urup. It is one of the affluents of the Kuban, and falls into the latter by the left bank, about sixty miles below the Greater Indschik, and eighty above the Laba. In order to reach the Tartars in their position, Don-Duc-Ombo must have crossed the Kuban.

tacked the Tartars with the greatest bravery. They received him with equal valour; but after two hours' resistance, their defences were at length forced on all sides, and the carnage was great. All the men were massacred; none were spared but the women and children, to the number of about 10,000 souls, and the Calmucks made a considerable booty of cattle. Twenty-four Mirzas, or chiefs of the Tartars, and near 6000 men, were left killed on the field.

Don-Duc-Ombo, after having sent the booty and the slaves under a good escort to a place of safety, continued his march to the river Jegorlik*, and encamped there, to give his people and horses time to refresh themselves. Some time after, having had advice that the four principal hordes, amounting to 30,000 tents, had assembled at forty leagues distance behind certain defiles, where they had resolved to wait for him, he marched to them with his troops, and kept the Tartars blocked up for thirty-seven days, not being strong enough to attack them in the post they occupied. On the other hand, the Tartars did not avail themselves of the numerical inferiority of Don-Duc-Ombo's troops. They were afraid of foregoing their advantage, and remained behind the defiles, in the hope that want of provisions would at length oblige the Calmucks to

* The river Jegorlik is an affluent of the Manytsch. It rises in a curious secondary branch of Elbruz, which consists of sandstone upon a limestone, and stretches northwards from the bend of the Kuban to near the source of the Kuma, a distance of nearly 100 miles. This ridge forms the water-shed between the streams that run into the sea of Azoph and those which fall into the Don. On its top is a valley surrounded by hills, through which runs the river Dongusla (Hog's river). The Jegorlik rises on the eastern side of the range, which in the winter is remarkably warm as compared with the western. It falls into the Manytsch after a course first eastward, and afterwards north-eastward, of about fifty miles. From the situation of his camp, it is plain that Don-Duc-Ombo had recrossed the Kuban to the north side.

retreat. But Don-Duc-Ombo, being reinforced by a large body of Don Cossacks, made the necessary dispositions for forcing the enemy. These had intelligence of his design, and being afraid of losing everything, should they await extremities, deputed some of their principal Mirzas to the Calmuck prince, with a declaration that they would submit to the empire of Russia, and desired him to receive them as subjects of her Imperial Majesty. This request was granted with pleasure. Their Sultan, with 200 Mirzas, repaired to the camp, and took the oath of allegiance, leaving some of their principal men as hostages.

While the Russian armies under the marshals Munich and Lacy had been occupied with the operations in the Crimea and the siege of Azoph, the body of troops which the empress had sent into Germany was brought back by lieutenant-general Keith to the Ukrain. These troops had had their winter-quarters in the empire, and having crossed Bohemia and Poland, they arrived at Kiev at the end of September, and there remained in garrison for the winter.

It will have been remarked in the account I have given of this campaign, that the Turks and Tartars whom the Russian army had to combat, were what it had the least to dread. Hunger, thirst, continual fatigue, marches in the intensest heats of the summer, were things much more fatal to it. And, though I am a great admirer of Count Munich, it is impossible for me to acquit him entirely of the mistakes made in this campaign, which cost Russia nearly 30,000 men. It must be owned that during the preceding winter, he had taken all the pains imaginable to have the magazines well stored; and that it was the fault not of him, but of the commissariat, that he had not carriages sufficient for the provision necessary to the subsistence of the army. It would, however, have been

better to have begun the campaign two months later, or at once to have given up the command of the army, than led so many thousand men into a distant country at the hazard of losing them all, on the bare hope of possibly subsisting them at the expense of the enemy. Add to this, that Munich was too harsh, and unnecessarily fatigued his troops. In the burning heats of summer, instead of making them march in the night, or some hours before day-break, to take advantage of the freshness of that time, the army never used to begin its march till two or three hours after sunrise, which greatly contributed to the distempers that got among the troops; and the suffocating heat and fatigue so overcame them that they often dropped down dead on the march. There were even officers who, in this campaign, died of hunger and misery of all kinds.

But what completed the ruin of the army, was the dissensions and feuds that prevailed among the highest generals. Marshal Munich had, as I before observed, the Prince of Hesse Homburg under his orders, who by no means loved the fatigues of war. This prince, not content with being himself slothful and neglecting the orders given him, stirred up factions in the army. He found fault with all the arrangements that the marshal made, and used to speak slightingly of his general before the officers, and even before the common soldiers, expressing his pity of their case every time that they suffered any the least hardships, adding that all this proceeded from the little precaution taken by the general of the army, whose object apparently was to have them all perish with hunger and fatigue. This unworthy conduct, which was owing only to a personal hatred, could not but produce very bad effects in the army. The soldiers did nothing with a good heart; they were discontented at everything, and any the least fatigue made them murmur.

The Prince of Hesse carried things yet farther. He found means to gain over to his way of thinking some of the native Russian generals, as also major-general Magnus Biron, cousin to the grand chamberlain*, who had the narrowest of intellects, while the others were not much better. However, the prince often held meetings with them; and when the army was in the Crimea, near Bachtschi-Seraï, he proposed to them, in case of the marshal's intending to march farther, that they should resist his orders, and if he attempted to exert his authority, put him under arrest, and confer the command upon the senior general of the army,—that is, himself! His counsellors were, on this occasion, more considerate than he was, representing to him, that it was as much as their heads were worth to dare to attempt such an action; that there could be no convicting marshal Munich of any crime, as they did not know his instructions, so that it would be risking too much to proceed in such a manner against the general of the army; that the most they could do would be to represent to the marshal in writing, that the sick were increasing daily, and that, if better measures were not taken, the whole army would perish. The prince was obliged to give in to this opinion. He wrote however to the court, and secretly dispatched a courier to the grand chamberlain, who sent the original back to Munich. It is easy to judge how much this must have augmented the animosity of the two generals, and how natural it was they should afterwards hate one another mortally. The prince, indeed, often wished to reconcile himself to Munich, and made all possible advances for that purpose; but the marshal never could prevail upon himself to give him any the least mark of friendship. This

* The favourite of the empress.

went even so far, that, on occasions of meeting, when it was indispensable to show him some civility, any one might plainly see by his air that he was doing violence to himself.

Though Biron had sent the letter of the Prince of Hesse back to Munich, it had nevertheless made some impression at court and on the ministry, among whom the marshal did not want for enemies. It was there resolved to have his conduct examined by a council of war, of which marshal Lacy was to be the president. But Lacy desired to be excused, and the affair stopped there. By great good luck for count Munich, his most inveterate enemy count Loewenwolde, the grand equerry, had died towards the end of the year 1735, or else he would not have come off so well.

During the winter marshal Munich went to Petersburg, where he found means to re-establish his credit, which had suffered a considerable decline in his absence. To the empress he cleared himself so thoroughly, that far from blaming him, she made him a present of some fine lands in the Ukrain, which had reverted to the crown on the death of count Weisbach. As to the Prince of Hesse, he was never able to retrieve this false step; on the contrary, by one blunder after another, he came at last to be hated and despised by all the world.

The manner of marching observed by the Russians in their campaigns against the Turks was singular. As soon as the general had notice of the enemy not being far off, the army formed into one or more squares with the baggage in the middle. Such an order of march would be practicable nowhere but in such deserts as those of that country, which is one whole plain, with very few defiles. In ten leagues of ground there is perhaps but one hillock to go up or one ravine to descend. Besides,

there is no necessity for keeping the road, so that the thing is easy enough. But then the baggage and provisions which the army is obliged to carry along with it is proportionately embarrassing; for, as there is no town in the whole country between the Ukrain and the Crimea, except the capital of the Zaporavians (which is not equal to a good village), it is absolutely indispensable to provide every necessary for the whole campaign, and this to such an extent, that it is sometimes requisite to carry water and fuel from one place of encampment to the next. It will then be easily conceived, that the baggage-train of such an army must be immense. I am very clear that I do not exaggerate in averring, that never did the army under count Munich take the field without having 90,000 carriages in its train, especially after learning by experience the difficulty of subsisting at the expense of the enemy. The mention of such a prodigious quantity of carriages may stagger the belief of the reader, but I can easily explain the matter. For an army of 80,000 men, there was transport required for six months provision of flour; and this alone took up 40,000 carriages.* The baggage of each regiment employed at least 250. Add those for the use of the generals, of the irregular

* These carriages were not the arabas now in common use in the steppes of Southern Russia; but a vehicle drawn by a single horse. It carried about 25 poods, *i. e.* 900 pounds avoirdupois. Jonas Hanway, who travelled in Russia seven years after Munich's campaign, describes these carriages as being "9 or 10 feet long, and 2 or 3 broad, and principally composed of two strong poles, supported by four wheels of near an equal size, and about as high as the fore wheels of our ordinary coaches, but made very slight: many of the rounds of the wheels are of a single piece of wood, and open in one part for near an inch, and some of them are not shod with iron." The ration seems to have been two pounds and a half of flour daily, which makes the quantity mentioned in the text exactly enough for 180 days.

troops, and of the artillery train, with 7000 or 8000 sutlers and victuallers, and I leave any one to judge whether I have exceeded the bounds of truth. Certain it is, that without this terrible incumbrance, the campaigns of Munich would not have been so fatiguing, and Russia might have derived greater advantages from them. One of the circumstances, indeed, in favour of the army was, that there was no need of providing forage, the Russian horses being accustomed to be at grass all the summer, and the steppes or deserts through which they had to pass affording the best herbage in the world. The country is one of the finest in Europe, and a great pity it is that it remains uncultivated for want of wood and water. One may sometimes go four or five leagues together without seeing so much as the smallest bush or the least rivulet, which caused the necessity of carrying wood for cooking from one camping-ground to another, in the uncertainty of finding any. Every company also constantly carried a large cask of water for the soldiers to drink by the way. There was besides another use for such casks. Every regiment was obliged to have with it eight or ten of them, with as many thick planks; of which bridges * were occasionally made, to pass the infantry and the lighter carriages, and pontoons were only used for the heavier baggage and the cavalry.

In two places of these deserts, there are found traces of towns that once existed there; the one called Samara, the other Bieloserka, both of them names taken from the rivers on the banks of which they were built. The first was demolished in conformity with the articles of the peace made by Russia with the Turks in the last century; the other, which had its own proper sovereign, was demolished by a Tartar prince called Sultan Mamaÿ, a

* To pass the water in the ravines. See note on page 120.

man very renowned among the people of these regions in the fourteenth century.

The sepulchral barrows of the Tartars in these deserts, are also very remarkable. They are great hillocks, found here and there, from Samara to within twenty leagues of Perekop. On the top of several of these eminences there are statues of a coarse workmanship, made of free-stone, of which some represent men, others women. Some of these barrows have been opened, and urns found in them full of ashes, with some coins of gold and of copper, on which are Arab characters half obliterated.

To give an idea of the fertility of these countries, I need only observe that the herbage grows in parts above the height of the tallest man. Asparagus is there in great quantity*, and botanists have found extremely rare plants well worth cultivating with care in our physic-gardens. There grows also in these steppes a kind of grass, of which the Turks and Tartars make use for their matches.† In the month of July or August, the Tartars burn the herbage on the steppes, for as they have not the means of cutting it for hay, and it dries up under the influence of the great heat which prevails in June, July, and August, the old blades of the grass would choke the new. The Tartars also set fire to it to deprive their enemies of forage; and if care were not taken to preserve a camp against conflagration, it would run a great risk of being burnt. To obviate this accident, Munich ordered there should be a large broom for each carriage, to damp a fire; besides which, they turned up the turf two feet in breadth round the camp, and with these precautions felt safe not to be burnt

* This is especially the case where the soil is impregnated with salt, as in the steppe of Astrakhan. On the eastern side of the Wolga, near Zaritzin, Pallas speaks of the wild asparagus as most luxuriant.

† *I. e.* for their matchlock guns.

alive. Game, such as hares, partridges, woodcocks, &c. are met with there in great plenty; the soldiers used to take numbers of them with their hands; there was, withal, such a multitude of quails, that there was not a march on which they did not catch as many as they chose.

Count Munich kept his communications open with the Ukrain during the campaign of 1736, by the following means. As soon as the army was well out of the Russian territory, he caused redoubts to be made as he went on. If their situation with respect to wood and water allowed of it, they were no farther from each other than one or two French leagues. There were also, in the more advantageous places, considerable intrenchments made, as at Samara on the small river of Bieloserka, and at Kisikjermen on the Dnieper. There was left in guard of the simplest redoubt, an officer, with ten or twenty soldiers or dragoons, and as many as thirty Cossacks. The intrenchments were garrisoned by 400 or 500 regulars and about as many Cossacks, under the command of a staff officer.* These detachments were to secure the transit of the couriers, and to work at making hay to supply the baggage animals of the army, in case of its returning so late in the season that there should be no more grass to be had. These redoubts and intrenchments were also of great use for the convoys that followed the army, who found in them a security against all surprise from the enemy, and commonly passed the night in one of them. But what is most astonishing is, that though these little block-houses were in the midst of the steppe, and insulated from one another, and though the Tartars attacked several of them, they did not take one, nor even intercept above one or

* "Un officier de l'Etat-Major."

two of the couriers sent by Munich to the court.* As he returned into the Ukrain he withdrew all the garrisons from these fortifications, except from the intrenchment of Samara, where there was one kept up all the time of the war. There has even remained one since the peace, and a kind of fortified town has been made out of the place.† There was no need of demolishing the redoubts, for the Tartars know as little of defending themselves behind ramparts as they do of attacking them.

Though this method of keeping up a communication with the Russian dominions succeeded perfectly well in the campaign of 1736, the marshal did not choose to make use of it in the succeeding years, lest the enemy, growing bolder in time, should take the redoubts, and by that means get a great number of prisoners; besides that all these little garrisons could not but in some degree weaken the army.

It is natural to imagine, that, after so fatiguing a campaign as that which the Russian army had just undergone, it would be allowed to enjoy some rest during the winter. But no, nothing like it; near half of the men were employed in guarding the frontiers, to hinder the incursions of the Tartars; and more than 30,000 were dispersed along the Dnieper, from Kiev to the lines

* By the statements which have appeared in the foreign newspapers, it seems probable that a similar line of posts has been established from Aleschki (and possibly Berislav) to Perekop during the latter part of the present summer (1855). No doubt the facilities for obtaining water have formed a principal element in the determination of their site.

† This new fortified town was on the eastern bank of the Dnieper, and on the south side of the little river which there falls into it. The old Tartar Samara, mentioned above (p. 138.), had been on the north side of the latter. The modern town Ekaterinoslav, which is on the western bank of the Dnieper, has succeeded to both.

of the Ukrain, an extent of near 200 French leagues, to break the ice of that river, and thereby hinder the Tartars from passing. It is easy to conceive the hardships attending such a task and the impossibility of entirely succeeding in it; yet it was of some use, as it rendered invasions more difficult, though it could not quite hinder them. For with all imaginable precautions there was no preventing the incursions of these vagabonds, nor their carrying off people, and burning a great number of villages. They were twice or thrice overtaken, and the booty they had made recovered; but all that was nothing in comparison to the damage which the Ukrain suffered from them during the four years that the war lasted with the Turks.

The Russian army had, during its stay in the Crimea, plundered and laid waste a great part of the country. The Tartars had their revenge by their forays into the Ukrain. They made several of these during the winter of the year 1736—1737, notwithstanding all the precautions that Munich had taken to bar the way. Some of their incursions succeeded, and they burned some small towns and villages and carried off above 1000 families, of whom they made slaves. The most considerable of all the incursions they undertook was in the month of February of the year 1737, when some thousands, on the 24th, passed the Dnieper on the ice, near the small town of Kaliberda. The major-general Lesly whose head-quarters were not far from there, seeing that the Tartars had found means to enter the country between the posts in his charge, hastily assembled 200 men, with whom he went to attack the enemy. They, imagining at first that it was the vanguard of some large body, were beginning to retreat, but seeing that Lesly received no reinforcements, they returned, attacked the detachment,

and defeated it. The general and the greatest part of his men were killed on the spot. There were none taken prisoners but Lesly's son, who was serving as his aide-de-camp, and about twenty men After this blow, the Tartars entered farther into the country, burning and destroying an infinite number of small villages for forty-eight hours together; but in this interval, the troops, having had time to assemble, seized the passes through which they had to return. They were stopped at several, and although they at length found a free place, they could not pass so quickly but that they were overtaken by major-general Rading, who fell upon their rear-guard with 2000 dragoons, killed near 300, and retook part of the booty they had made. On their return to the Crimea, they attacked the capital of the Zaporavian Cossacks, but were repulsed thence with a considerable loss; and all the damage they did there was to burn a few hamlets.

The manner in which these Tartars proceed, when they make their forays, is very singular. Each of them, on taking the field for such an expedition, has two or three led horses with him, besides the one on which he rides himself, for a change in the event of the first being fatigued; or if one of these horses should be so knocked up as to be no longer able to hold out, his master leaves him at large in the steppe to recover himself, and generally, at his return, finds him again in good plight. One may judge of the goodness of the Tartar horses by the incursions these people make, sometimes at the rate of twenty-five leagues a day without the horses knocking up; thence too may be understood with what rapidity they execute their marches. All their provision consists of what they can carry themselves, which is commonly no great matter.* They

* Tott, who joined an expedition into the Polish Ukrain, in which almost

are frugal when their interest requires them to be so, contenting themselves with bread and biscuit till their return from the enemy's country, where they generally get wherewithal to make better cheer at home. They never enter with their whole army into the Ukrain; it is commonly about a third, or sometimes half, that they detach, and these never venture to stay in the enemy's country above forty-eight hours; at the end of which time they make the best of their way back again, to rejoin the main body with the booty they may have got.

In order to be informed of all the designs of the Turks, the court of Russia had contrived to gain over some of the secretaries or interpreters of the Porte, and also of the Prince of Moldavia, who did not fail to give Munich the earliest intelligence, as soon as any the least enterprise was under consideration. But that was not sufficient to secure them against surprise by the Tartars. The Zaporavian Cossacks had always some parties of observation out towards the line of the Crimea, noting the least motions of the Tartars, and duly gave advice on the enemy's setting out on a march. There were erected, along the frontier, every half league, three poles, and on the top of each was placed a tar-barrel, with dry wood and straw. As soon as notice was given that the Tartars were on their march, the beacon was lighted on the first pole of the three along the frontier, for a warning to the

the whole of the Tartar tribes took part, describes each man as carrying eight or ten pounds of flour of baked millet in a leathern bag. This was a 50 days' victual; but the led horses furnished an additional resource, as, in case of necessity, they are killed and eaten. (Mémoires, vol. ii. p. 217.) This diet may explain the success of Prince Donducoff in keeping the field in Armenia during the present year (1855) in an exhausted country. His name indicates a Calmuck origin; and the cavalry he commanded, may well have been Tartars of Kara-bagh.

advanced posts and to the inhabitants, to be on their guard. When the enemy showed himself near any post, the second beacon was fired; and as soon as they had made their way through into the country, the third was lighted; and then all the troops without delay put themselves in motion in the direction of the signal beacon to cut off the retreat of the enemy. To expedite their march, there were distributed to each regiment of foot 200 horses, that were harnessed in pairs to sledges, on each of which sat three or four men. I should imagine that, humanly speaking, it was hardly possible to take greater precautions, and yet, for all that, there did not pass a single year in which some one of the Tartar invasions did not succeed; for every year they made several.

Having said enough of the Tartars of the Crimea, I will now return to those of the Kuban, and relate the further expeditions made by the Calmucks and the Cossacks of the Don, under the famous Don-Duc-Ombo, against these last.

These same Tartars had been defeated in the month of May, and several hordes had submitted to Russia *, but the greater part of them had remained faithful to the Porte. The court of Petersburg, desiring to be completely secure on that flank, sent orders to the Calmuck prince to proceed with his troops and the Cossacks of the Don, under Krasnatschoka and Jefremow, both of them colonels of the latter, to the Kuban, and to reduce those Tartars so thoroughly as to be a guarantee against their lifting up their heads again for a long time.† These troops, to the number of 25,000 men, put themselves in

* This apparently refers to the surrender described in p. 133.

† Similar instructions, and with a similar object, were given the year before Munich's expedition. See above, page 92.

motion on the 30th of November, and having advanced as far as the river Jegorlik they sent on a small detachment to get intelligence. They were so fortunate as to fall in with a party of the enemy, which they defeated, and brought away a prisoner, of whom they learnt that one of the most powerful hordes, called the Horde of Jetiskooly, which could bring 20,000 horse into the field, was come out of the mountains, where it could subsist no longer, and was actually then grazing its horses and cattle in the fields on that side of the river Kuban; and that to secure these from Calmuck and Cossack incursions, they had established several well-fortified posts in the defiles or straits, which must necessarily be passed to attack them. Upon this intelligence, Don-Duc-Ombo detached a body of Cossacks under the command of the two colonels Krasnatschoka and Jefremow, to reconnoitre the situation of the Tartar posts, following in person with the rest of his troops. During the day, they examined the ground in the neighbourhood of the enemy's intrenchments, and at nightfall the Cossacks attacked the principal position, guarded by 1000 men, and carried it, notwithstanding an obstinate resistance. As they had been fortunate enough to secure all the horses belonging to the Tartars who defended this post, not a man could escape; and they were every soul massacred, except the commanding officer, who was brought to the Calmuck camp to get some further intelligence out of him. As soon as Don-Duc-Ombo had examined his prisoner, he divided his troops into several parties, marched upon the enemy, and attacked on several sides at once. Having totally defeated them, he swept the whole extent of country along the river Kuban as far as the sea of Azoph, and ended by utterly crushing this horde. All the inhabited places along the river were sacked. He advanced even to Kapil,

a walled town, and the usual residence of the Sultan Bachti-Gerëi, chief of these Tartars, took it by storm, and totally destroyed it. This incursion lasted from the 1st to the 14th of December. The booty the Calmucks and Cossacks made in the expedition was immense. Above 10,000 women and children were made slaves; and the quantity of animals taken was prodigious. The Calmucks had for their share 20,000 horses, besides horned cattle and sheep. Don-Duc-Ombo averred, that for a long time no such complete victory had been obtained, for it had cost the enemy at least 30,000 souls, including the slaves that were made. Near 15,000 men had been slain upon the spot, and the rest were drowned in endeavouring to pass the Kuban by swimming, the sides being frozen and the waters very high.* Don-Duc-Ombo, not contented with this victory, sent off all the booty, and secured himself with his troops and the Cossacks along the Kuban. Some time afterwards, having notice that 3000 Tartars were moving upon him, he sent a detachment against them. They made a stubborn resistance, but were at length routed and put to flight.

The campaign which Munich had made in the Crimea had taught him how difficult it was to take an army through those vast deserts. As soon therefore as his troops were distributed in their quarters, he began the arrangements for the next campaign. In the course of the winter he had gone to the court of Petersburg, and managed every thing so successfully that there was scarcely felt the least want of any kind during the campaign of 1737. The regiments were made up to their

* *I. e.* there had been a partial thaw, which hindered them from crossing on the ice, while the frozen edge under the surface prevented them from swimming to the bank. The waters would rise from the melting of the snow.

complement by 40,000 recruits, which the empire furnished. Great diligence was also used in the construction of the new docks of Briansk, for building flat-bottomed vessels, to be used for descending the Dnieper and acting in the Black Sea. They were called double sloops, were armed with four 4-pounders, and eight 1-pounders, and could carry 100 men. It was necessary to make them extremely flat on account of the falls of the Dnieper, which it is very difficult to pass in common boats. Yet after all the Russians derived but little advantage from this new flotilla: the only service it did was in carrying provisions to Ockzakow,—no officer having been disposed to attempt any operations with it on the Black Sea.

The campaign of 1737, in which the Russian army took Ockzakow, was the most bloody one of the whole war. Munich returned from court at the end of February. As soon as he arrived at his head-quarters at Kiev he completed the arrangements which had been begun for the ensuing campaign. In the middle of March all the regiments had notice to hold themselves in readiness for marching within twenty-four hours after they should receive the order.

In the beginning of April the whole army came out of quarters. The infantry was embarked in great boats, on board of which it fell down the Dnieper to within some leagues of Perevolotschna *, where the regiments were billeted in the neighbouring little towns and villages, as, for want of grass, the time for taking the field had not come.

Towards the end of the month the army took the field,

* It was near this little town that Charles XII. of Sweden passed the Dnieper, after his unfortunate battle at Pultowa. (Note of the French editor.)

and passed the Dnieper in three different places. The first division under general Romanzow crossed at Kremenschuk, the second under lieutenant-general Leontew at Orlik, and the third under the Prince of Hesse-Homburg at Perevolotschna, upon a bridge of boats of 503 toises in length, and which had taken 128 boats to construct it.

By May 6th the whole army had passed, and the same day three battalions of the foot-guards and 300 horse-guards entered the camp. Prince Antony Ulric of Brunswick also joined the army, to make the campaign as a volunteer. On the 12th the army commenced its march, and the divisions all joined on the 3rd of June, in the same camp, on the river Omelnick.

The army was composed of sixty-three battalions of foot, two squadrons of horse-guards, one squadron of cuirassiers of Munich's regiment, and twenty-nine regiments, or 145 squadrons, of dragoons. The corps of artillery and engineers consisted of 3000 men. The light troops consisted of 1500 hussars and at least 13,000 Cossacks of all kinds; so that the whole might be reckoned to amount to between 60,000 and 70,000 men. There were in the artillery train, sixty-two battering-pieces, from 18 to 24-pounders, eleven mortars, sixteen howitzers, 165 field-pieces, from 3 to 12-pounders, and 392 small mortars for grenades of six pound weight.

The generals who commanded under the marshal were, the Prince of Hesse-Homburg, grand-master of the ordnance, general Romanzow, lieutenant-generals Leontew, Keith, Charles Biron, and Loewendal, major-generals Tarakanow, Magnus Biron, Prince Basilius Repnin, Stoffeln, Bachmetew, Arachtschew, [and Gustavus Biron, who commanded the three battalions of guards]. This army marched in several columns to the river Bug,

keeping as much as possible along the side of the river Dnieper.*

On June 25th the army arrived at the river Bug, and the 26th was taken up with throwing three bridges over it, one of pontoons, the other two of casks.† The army passed the river in three days, without any the least obstruction from the enemy. The rendezvous of their army being under Bender, and they themselves not being entirely assembled, they could not imagine that the Russians were already so far advanced.

Before the army quitted the river Bug it was joined by several foreign officers, who came to make the campaign in the capacity of volunteers, and also by more than 28,000 waggons of provisions and 2000 camels; which last were distributed among the regiments, each company having two, for carrying their tents.

On July 2nd the army, having left the bank of the Bug, did not advance above four wersts, or a French league, to the small river Souchaia-tzchertala, This was the first time that it marched in a square this campaign; and, as it was numerous and had much baggage, it was divided into three squares, which marched in such disposition as to be able to support each other. On the 3rd the army advanced seventeen wersts, or about four leagues, to the small river Mertwie-Wody. There were several defiles to be passed‡, so that a part of the baggage, as well as of the provisions, with the rear-guard, could not get to the camp before the 4th; and what was the most vexatious in this march was, that there was not a drop of

* This is the reading of both French and English texts, but it is obviously an error, perhaps a slip of the pen, for the Ingul.

† The passage seems to have taken place near the site of the present Vosnesensk.

‡ These "defiles" are doubtless the ravines caused by the drainage of he steppe surface-water. See the note on page 120.

water all the way from Tzchertala to Mertwie-Wody, so that the cattle remained twenty-four hours without watering. As to the men, they had provided themselves, each having been ordered to fill his flask, besides taking care to replenish the casks.*

Hitherto the army had not deviated from the route that leads to Bender, that they might put their enemies upon a false scent, so as to make them withdraw part of their troops from Ockzakow; but the marshal, learning that the Turks, far from being misled by this feint, were detaching some of their best troops to reinforce the garrison of that town, resolved to quicken his march as much as possible, so as to reach the place without giving time to the enemy to fortify it more, or even to arrive there with all his army. To be less incumbered in the march, he had the heavier baggage, the magazines of provisions, and a part of the battering train left behind, under lieutenant-general Leontew and major-general Tarakanow, with orders to follow by slower marches.

On July 6th the army marched full five French leagues, and encamped on the Bug. The reconnoitring parties, which had been sent in the direction of Bender and Ockzakow, came in and reported that they had seen several advanced posts on the road towards the latter, who had retreated at once upon perceiving them, without waiting for their coming up.

On the 7th the army marched along the side of the river Bug, down the stream; and as there were many defiles, they could not advance above three leagues. On the 8th they could not make above three more, having still several defiles and also the small river of Jatitzkaya to pass. The enemy showed himself to the vanguard

* See page 138.

at a good distance, but durst not attempt any thing, retreating as soon as ever he saw the light troops advancing to the attack.

On July 9th the army set out very early in the morning, and did not arrive till very late in the night at the river Jantzchikragh, having marched seven French leagues. This was an unbroken country enough, but there was not a drop of water to be had in the way from one encampment to the other. A party of the Don Cossacks fell upon an advanced post of the enemy, and took prisoners three Beschleys, or Asiatic horsemen. It appeared that they had been sent from Ockzakow to reconnoitre the march of the Russian army; that the garrison there was at the time composed of 15,000 men; and there was expected on that very day, or the next, a reinforcement both by sea and land; that they had been at work for a whole twelvemonth, putting the fortifications of the place into a good state of defence; that it was provided with near 100 pieces of artillery, cannon and mortars; that there were eighteen galleys and several transports in the harbour; that they had also begun to repair the fortifications of Kinburn, which had been destroyed the preceding year by the general Leontew, but on advice that the Russian armies had taken the field, had withdrawn the workmen from thence; moreover, that the Tartars of Budziack, who had been encamped near Ockzakow, had taken to flight, notwithstanding all the representations of their sultan, and, deserting him, had sought safety in their own country.

The enemy, to deprive the Russian army of forage, had burnt all the grass, from the river of Jantzchikragh to Ockzakow, for four leagues round.

On July 10th the army got under march by break of day, and as it was not above three leagues from Ockzakow,

it soon came in sight of the advanced guard of the enemy. The Cossacks came to blows with them, and after a sharp skirmish were obliged to give way. Stoyanow, a colonel of the hussars, rode up with his regiment to support the Cossacks; but as the enemy kept receiving succours from the town, and manœuvred with a view to surround the light troops, there were detached a regiment of dragoons and two regiments of infantry, with some pieces of cannon, and these soon obliged them to retreat. Several prisoners were made, and among others four officers, who stated that they had arrived only the night before at Ockzakow, with 7000 picked men, consisting of Bosnians and Arnaouts, so that the garrison was more than 20,000 strong, of whom 5000 of the best mounted had just measured their strength against the light troops. The skirmish, which lasted near four hours, cost the Russians no more than ten hussars and fifteen Cossacks. The enemies lost above 100 men, killed, wounded and prisoners.

The army, having advanced within cannon-shot of Ockzakow, encamped there at nightfall, not without a good deal of confusion. They thence saw the suburb all in flames, the governor having ordered it to be fired.

In the morning the army shifted its camp, and occupied the whole space between the Liman (so the mouth of the Dnieper is called) and the Black Sea. The marshal then held a grand council of war, in which it was resolved to attack the town with the utmost vigour, before the arrival of the fresh reinforcements that were expected, or the approach of the Turkish army which was concentrating at Bender to come to its relief. The council had not yet done sitting, when, at ten in the morning, the enemy sallied out of the place, to the number of 15,000 men. They formed two divisions, and pushed forward the one against the left of the army; but as their greater strength

was opposed to the right, where the Cossacks of the Don were encamped, Baron Loewendal was detached at the head of the picquets of the army, with several field-pieces, to stop these. The firing was very brisk, and lasted near two hours. But the enemy, having lost a number of their men by the fire of the Russian artillery, were at last obliged to retreat. There might be about 200 killed on both sides. The Russians did not lose a single officer, and the Don Cossacks contrived to secure more than 200 of the enemy's horses.

Munich, on his opening the campaign, had despatched orders to Prince Troubeltzkoi to come down the Dnieper with the fleet which had been built at Briansk, and to embark on board of it a part of the heavy artillery, with a great quantity of provisions, and munitions of war, and all other necessaries for a siege. The army, which had besides a prodigious quantity of baggage, could not encumber itself with that convoy. But for want of intelligence or of good-will on the part of its chief, this fleet did not arrive by the appointed time at the mouth of the Dnieper. The excuse was, that it had been detained for several days by storms and contrary winds; besides which, the Dnieper had happened to be so low at the cataracts that it had required several days to get the vessels past. So that Munich, on arriving at Ockzakow, instead of meeting his fleet there, found himself in want of everything for undertaking the siege. There was no wood to burn, nor to make fascines; nor was there pasturage for the horses [within eight leagues round], the enemy having burnt it all, as I have above observed. As to the horses, the general had resolved to send them to join the heavy baggage; but the greatest difficulty was, where to get wood, and the necessary utensils for the siege which were on board the fleet. Munich thought that it

could not, at the worst, be long before they arrived; and in this hope the siege was begun.

It is astonishing that this general, who understood men so well, could bring himself to entrust for the second time so important a service to a person like Prince Troubeltskoi, who the year before had so entirely failed in a similar commission, and by his indolence had caused the death of a good part of the army, for want of the provisions he should have sent them. Any one except Prince Troubeltskoi would have paid dear indeed for two such enormous blunders; but marshal Munich, who wished him well, screened him, and even rendered him very great services. By way of gratitude the prince did him in the sequel some very ill turns.*

In the evening of July 11th, 5000 pioneers, supported by 5000 men, were ordered to raise five redoubts, and the needful *épaulements* between the Liman and the Black Sea, which might in the sequel serve for lines of contravallation, and to cover the tail of the trenches. There was a clear moonshine, the night was short, and the ground as hard as rock; so that, notwithstanding all the pains the troops took, it was found impracticable to raise a single redoubt before day. The marshal was anxious that at least the middle one should be in a condition for service, and therefore set a working party of 2000 upon it; but the sun rose without their having been able to penetrate two feet into the ground. The Turks at the same time began a heavy fire from their ramparts on the troops, who were not above short cannon-range from the glacis, which made the marshal recal them into camp.

Brigadier Lieven and colonel Jerepkin had been

* This last paragraph appears only in the French. So do the words "for want of intelligence or of good-will on the part of its chiefs," and "the excuse was, that" in the preceding one.

ordered to accomplish the raising the two redoubts at the extremity of the right near the Black Sea; but they found, so to say, ready-made ones to their hand, with parapet and ditch, so that, after having repaired them and surrounded them with *chevaux-de-frise*, they posted their men there. The fact was, there were some gardens of the town separated from one another by good dry ditches and parapets, [wood for paling being scarce there]. These two gardens or redoubts were not above half cannon-shot from the town, so that it was to be expected that the enemy would not fail to make a sally on that side. General Romanzow, by break of day, repaired thither, at the head of the picquets of the right wing, with some field-pieces. At the same time, the picquets of the rest of the army, the companies of grenadiers, and the Cossacks, had orders to form at the head of their encampments. On the 12th, at six in the morning, the advanced guards began to engage with a great deal of bravery on both sides. The whole army was ordered to get under arms. Half of the regiments, with their colours flying, marched in the direction of the town; the other half remained in the camp under the Prince of Hesse-Homburg, who fell sick exactly on the day that the Cossacks took the first prisoners, and did not recover till after Ockzakow was taken.*

The enemy had on their right, on the side of the Liman, a retrenchment, or rather hollow way, which they lined with men; and on the other side they had posted themselves in some of those gardens just described. There they made a stubborn defence, but were at length driven out, and forced to retreat behind the palisades. The Russians immediately occupied those posts, and, under favour of the gardens, approached to within musket-shot

* See above, page 66.

of the counterscarp. The firing was continued on both sides from morning till nightfall. The marshal caused the battering-cannon and the mortars as well as the field-artillery to be brought up; and, finding a convenient garden, had them placed there, without throwing up parapet or laying down platform. In this way the artillery was soon in condition to act; and a continual fire having been kept up, the town was seen in flames in several places during the day, although it was also seen that these were presently extinguished.

During the night the men began to work at the trenches, with a view at least to join the gardens by communications, but to no purpose; such was the hardness of the ground. It would have taken at least forty-eight hours to perfect the parapet and establish a cover from cannon-hot. By singular good luck there happened to be no need of this work. The cannon had not ceased playing the whole night, nor the mortars from throwing shells, when about an hour before day, on the 13th, a fire appeared in the middle of the town. In order to hinder the enemy from extinguishing it, the bombardment was continued, with the greatest success, and the flames extended so that one could distinctly observe several streets in a blaze. The marshal, to make his advantage of this, sent orders to Keith, who was posted in the centre of the attack and nearest to the town, to advance with his troops to within musket-shot of the glacis, and keep up an incessant fire, draw the garrison to the rampart, and hold it in such alarm as to disable it from aiding in putting out the fire. Keith returned for answer, that he was already within less than a musket-shot of the glacis, and that the enemy had killed and wounded a number of his men with musket-shot from the rampart in the position where he then was. A moment afterwards the marshal sent a fresh

order to Keith to keep up a continual fire of musketry against the rampart. He was obeyed. The fire had not lasted five minutes before the marshal ordered the troops to come out from behind the redoubts and fire without cover. Keith immediately executed the order, but sent at the same time a representation that this manœuvre would cause the loss of a great number of men to no purpose. Scarce, however, had the troops got to the outside of the redoubts, when the marshal again sent an aide-de-camp to Keith to tell him that himself, Romanzow, and general Biron at the head of the guards, had just advanced with the right wing up to the foot of the glacis, and that he hoped Keith would do the same. Loewendal, who was with the left wing and the artillery, some hundreds of paces in the rear of the centre, had had the same order; upon which, with his troops, he joined Keith, and they advanced towards the town. Arriving at the foot of the glacis, the troops found a ditch about twelve feet broad; nor could they pass it, not having with them any the least thing necessary for an assault, or for getting over. However, there they stayed near two hours [exposed to the hottest fire], without retreating one step, constantly seeking for some means of passing. Some even got clear over the ditch, but not in number enough to decide the fate of the town. At length, the troops growing disheartened, on seeing there was no means of passing this fore-ditch or of gaining a lodgment in the covered-way, retired in considerable confusion into one of the gardens or redoubts which they had occupied the preceding night. Some hundreds of Turks made at the same time a sally from the town, and killed a number in the retreat, especially of the wounded, who could not get off the ground fast enough.

If the Seraskier or the governor of the place had had the sense to make a sally with the garrison, they could

have beaten the Russian army completely, and forced it not only to raise the siege, but to return to Russia.

The marshal, who on this failure had given up every thing for lost, was wrapped in the greatest affliction. But the great fire in the town, which had become nearly general, by about nine o'clock in the morning restored his affairs. The chief powder-magazine blew up, and not only overthrew part of the town, but buried above 6000 men in the ruins. This blow threw the Seraskier and the whole garrison into consternation; and, as there was now no possibility of extinguishing the fire, he judged it would be madness to suffer so many to perish by the flames or be buried under the ruins. He accordingly ordered all the flags, with which the ramparts and glacis were stuck in the Turkish manner, to be taken down, and the white flag to be hoisted. He sent at the same time his Bash-Tzchaus, or adjutant-general, to Count Munich, to desire of him an armistice of twenty-four hours. His request was rejected, and he was required to surrender himself and his garrison prisoners of war in an hour's time, or to expect no quarter. While this was in agitation, advice came that the hussars and Cossacks of the Don had penetrated into the town on the side next the sea. The Seraskier and a part of the garrison had got out of the place, in order to escape on board the galleys and vessels of transport, while the capitulation was preparing. The Cossacks and hussars seeing that the Turks were endeavouring to escape, fell furiously upon them, forced them to return into the town, and entered *pêle-mêle* together with the fugitives. The Seraskier, upon this, sent a second time to the marshal, and surrendered at discretion, requesting nothing but life, which was granted. A detachment of the foot-guards took immediately possession of a gate, and the garrison was disarmed and conducted to the camp.

While these arrangements were making, some hundreds of soldiers entered the town, and massacred a number of people. About 2000 found means to get to the galleys, and so escape. As many more were drowned, who had thrown themselves into the sea to swim to the transports,—as these, seeing the town taken, weighed anchor, and stood out into the offing, to carry to Constantinople the news of the success of the Russian expedition.

Orders were given to put the fire out, but its fury was so great that these could not be at once executed. Two more magazines blew up, and a party of Russians who had entered the town for the purpose of pillage was destroyed.

The Russian loss was the following: — Killed on the spot, 2 captains of the guards, 4 colonels, 2 lieutenant-colonels, 2 majors, 58 other officers, and 987 non-commissioned officers and rank and file. Wounded, lieutenant-generals Keith and Loewendal, major-generals Chroutschef and Aractschew, brigadiers Lieven and Hanf, 2 captains, 2 lieutenants, and 2 ensigns of the guards, 6 colonels, 2 lieutenant-colonels, 19 majors, and as many as 100 officers and 2703 non-commissioned officers and rank and file. The marshal had one horse killed under him and another wounded. Prince Antony Ulric, who had not left his side for an instant, had also a horse killed. Lieutenant-colonel Homburg, who accompanied the prince, was killed by his side, and of his orderlies, one was killed and another wounded.*

Of the enemy, the prisoners made were, the Seraskier Jaya, Bashaw of three tails and commander-in-chief of all the troops, son-in-law to the last Grand Vizier, and who had been master-of-horse to the deposed Sultan; the

* The last six sentences are not found in the English edition.

governor of the place, Mustapha, Bashaw of two tails; 30 other officers of distinction, 60 subalterns, 3174 private soldiers of different bodies, as Janissaries, Spahis, Bosniacs, and Arnaouts; 200 servants, and 1200 women and children; 54 Greeks, who took service in the hussars, and some hundreds of slaves, who thus recovered their liberty.

By this enumeration may be judged the number of men the Turks must have lost in the town, the garrison having been 20,000 strong, besides the inhabitants. By July 20th there had been already interred 17,000 Turks; and there were still a great number of bodies buried under the ruins, which could not be dug out till long after.

On the ramparts were found 82 brass cannon, 6 iron, 7 mortars, and 1 howitzer. There were taken 9 horse-tails, 8 truncheons of command, and a great quantity of very fine arms. The colours were near 300; and the booty the troops got was very considerable.

The Cossacks of the Don distinguished themselves greatly before Ockzakow; for they voluntarily fought on foot, and marched up to the assault.

The above is a detailed account of the siege of Ockzakow; a siege the most singular that the world ever saw. Nothing less than Munich's good luck could ever have brought it to that issue; for, after the faults he committed in attacking it with so little consideration, he deserved to be beaten and compelled to raise the siege. He began the attack without knowing in what manner the town was fortified, and even without having reconnoitred it. He caused the assault to be made on the best fortified side, without having fascines or anything else for passing the ditch of the counterscarp, the very existence of which was unknown till the moment of coming upon it. If he

had turned the town, and made his approaches to it on the side towards the sea, he would have taken it much more easily, there being only a single wall, and that damaged in some places. When the marshal was repulsed he wanted to throw the blame of the whole affair on Keith, telling the Prince of Brunswick, in presence of some generals, that it was owing to the over-great ardour of Keith that the assault had been made and had succeeded so ill; but that, as the fire still continued burning, he hoped everything would come right again. This was told to Keith, who, extremely piqued at the imputation to him of a measure in which he had acted against his own will, sent a request to Munich to cease reproaching him, as he had done nothing but follow his orders; adding, that he was ready to demand a court-martial, before which he would show the faults that had been committed in beginning the siege. The marshal came next morning to pay him a visit, and among other things said to him, "It is, sir, partly to you that we are indebted for the success of this great enterprise." Keith, who had not forgotten his speeches of the preceding evening, answered, "I beg your pardon, sir, I do not pretend to any the least honour from it, having done nothing but merely obey your orders."

The town of Ockzakow forms an oblong square. It is very irregularly fortified, and flanked by various bastions. Three sides are surrounded by parapets, a dry ditch, a glacis, and a ditch in front of it; but the side opposite the Liman has only a plain wall in bad condition. During the winter a guide had been sent charged with a complimentary message to the Bashaw in command, but in reality to try if he could not get the plan of the fortifications of the town. The man was hardly allowed to look out of the window of his room; but, nevertheless, wishing to recommend himself to Munich, he gave him the plan

of a hexagonal fortification, assuring him that it was the exact outline of the town. It was actually on the report of this man that the siege of Ockzakow was undertaken.

On July 14th the major-general Bachmetew, and colonel Bratke of the engineers, entered the town, with two regiments of dragoons, twelve battalions of foot, and 2000 Cossacks. Two regiments were to be sent under colonel Wedel to Kinburn.

As there was no question but that the Turks would make the utmost efforts for the recovery of Ockzakow, it was ordered to be provided with every necessary, and put into a condition for making a long resistance. A great part of the artillery was left there, and a number of engineers to direct the works. The town had been turned into such a heap of stones, that the garrison could not be lodged in it, but encamped on the side of the ditch of the counterscarp, where they began to work at a retrenchment that was to extend all along the front of the town, having the Liman on the right and the Black Sea on the left; but, as this was a work that required a great deal of time, there were two small retrenchments provisionally made on each side; after which the intended grand one was proceeded upon, but was not finished. These lines were to serve for advanced works, to oblige the enemy, in case of an attack, to begin his trenches at a great distance, for those works which were completed were too well constructed to leave any fear of their being carried sword in hand.

The army remained two days more in camp at Ockzakow, to rest itself from the fatigues which it had undergone for thirteen days successively; after which the marshal resumed his march. His instructions were to proceed towards Bender; but, as he learnt that the enemy had burnt all the grass on that side, it was necessary to take

another route. The Russian army was diminished, not only by the garrison left at Ockzakow, and the numbers they had lost in the course of the siege, but also by the multitude of sick with the army; insomuch that its strength in the field was from 20,000 to 24,000 men less than at the opening of the campaign. It was resolved not to move to any distance from the Bug, but to make some marches and countermarches, that should lead the enemy to believe that they were bending their force against him; but the true design was to cover Ockzakow, and to hinder the Turks from forming the siege of it till the garrison should have had time to repair the fortifications and to erect such buildings as might serve to lodge them during the winter.

On July 22nd the army was at sixty wersts or fifteen leagues from Ockzakow, on the bank of the Bug. There the general Leontew, who had been left behind with the heavy baggage and stores, rejoined it.

On the 23rd the army, very early in the morning, commenced its march; but had scarce proceeded a quarter of a league when the Cossacks of the Don, who had been sent on a reconnoitring party towards Bender, brought word that a great body of the enemy was advancing against the army, and was not above half a league off. Hitherto they had heard no more about the enemy than if the army had been marching in a friendly country, so that, though they advanced in squares, they had allowed the baggage to go on before or follow behind, just as should be most convenient. The marshal himself having ordered the army to move on, was himself stopping in his tent to dispatch a courier to the court. He was scarce got on horseback when a body of the enemy attacked his baggage and that of the prince of Brunswick. Munich, who had always with him an escort of some squadrons of horse, detached them against the enemy, whom they repulsed on that side. They had

however, time enough to kill some of the people of the baggage-train and to carry off several horses.

Nearly at the same time colonel Fermor and lieutenant-general Lieven, who were performing the duty of quarter-masters general, and, having no conception of a hostile encounter, had gone on before with only the quarter-masters and storekeepers*, making up in all 350, and had not waited for the two regiments of dragoons whose duty it was to escort them, found themselves on a sudden surrounded with some thousands of Turks and Tartars. Fermor on the instant made his little troop dismount and form into a square. The enemy's horse and foot fell upon them, but were several times repulsed with a considerable loss. The quarter-masters' men reserved their fire, and managed it so well, that they did not pull a trigger in vain. The Turks imagined they should gain their ends better by setting fire to the grass, but Fermor was on the alert, and made with his troops so skilful a movement, that, before the fire could reach them, they got to a spot where there was nothing combustible. The enemy on this made a fresh attack, but was repulsed as before. The quarter-masters must, however, have been overpowered by numbers if some regiments had not luckily come up in time to disengage them. The Russians had on this occasion 50 men killed and wounded, and near 100 were taken prisoners, but most of them only horse-boys.† Some slaves, who had found means to escape, declared that the enemy had consisted of 5000 Turks and 10,000 Tartars, who had been sent from Bender to attack the general Leontew on his march before he could join the army.

* "Les quartier-maîtres et les fouriers."

† "Goujats de l'armée."

On the 25th general Bachmetew sent word that the works at Ockzakow were in considerable forwardness, and that 1500 Zaporavian Cossacks had arrived there in thirty-eight vessels; that they had made an expedition in the Black Sea and in the islands on the coast of the Crimea*, but that they had found them all abandoned by the inhabitants.

On the 26th the army went up the Bug about four leagues, and encamped at a place called Andriewska, where there are to be seen the ruins of a town. The marshal caused a fort to be built there, giving it the name of St. Andrew; and into it put the greatest part of the artillery, under the guard of two regiments of foot, commanded by the Prince of Holstein, there to await the arrival of the fleet that was to carry them to Ockzakow. For, as the enemy had burnt up the grass, there was a great scarcity of forage, and the horses and oxen which drew the guns died every day by dozens. The next day the marshal received news that a part of the fleet under colonel Chripounoff was at length arrived at Ockzakow, to the number of 14 double sloops and 70 large boats, each of 150 tons burthen. These vessels were loaded with a great quantity of all sorts of provision; some thousands of bomb-shells, balls, grenadoes, gabions, wood for burning and for building. This was the flotilla which ought to have brought the army the necessaries for conducting the siege of Ockzakow. It did not arrive till fifteen days after the taking of the place. Hence may be seen, that there is no relying with certainty on water-carriage, especially on such a river as the Dnieper,

* By these are perhaps meant the little islands in Kinburn Bay. The Zaporavians apparently took the peninsula of Tendra for the coast of the Crimea.

where there are a great number of falls not passable when the water is low.

The army, having proceeded up the side of the Bug as far as the conflux of the Ziczakleya, learnt that there was, on the other side of the river, forage and wood in abundance; upon which it was resolved to cross it at this place, though it is ninety-five toises broad and marshy on the western side; and on July the 30th they began to work at getting two bridges ready. On the 1st of August the first regiments passed over the river.

The Zaporavian Cossacks had, in their little vessels, made a new expedition to the mouth of the Dniester; had gone up the river, plundered several villages on the banks, set fire to a number of others, and thereby spread an alarm over the whole country as far as Bender. They returned with a great booty, and afterwards at times repeated these expeditions, but with less profit to themselves, the people of the country having gone off with their best effects to Bender, or else inland.

On August 7th, at night, it was observed that the enemy had set fire to the woods and bushes on the other side of the Bug, on the way to Bender, at about four leagues distance from the camp. It was at first imagined that it might be a great body of the Turks, or even their whole army, advancing to attack the Russians; but, after several parties of Cossacks had gone out and scoured the country a good way beyond the fire without discovering any traces of the enemy, the alarm went off.

Since the affair of the quarter-masters there had not been any the least news of the enemy, which made the army feel as secure as if they had been in the midst of Russia. They went foraging without so much as the smallest covering party, and some of the servants ventured

as far as two or three leagues off; an imprudence for which they paid dearly.

On August 11th a party of Tartars, 1500 strong, having swum the river some leagues above the camp, fell upon the foragers of the left division, whom they found dispersed all over the country round about, massacred a number of them, and carried off more than 1000 horses and oxen before the alarm reached the camp. The Cossacks of the Don, who were encamped the nearest to the place where this was passing, mounted instantly and rode at full speed towards the enemy. These, who were by no means come on a fighting errand, thought of nothing but making the best of their way off the ground as soon as they saw the Cossacks approaching. Accordingly they detached the main part of their troops before, with the prisoners and the booty, while the boldest of them kept in the rear, and followed more slowly. This enabled the Cossacks to come up with the latter, when they charged them, killed a hundred, and made twenty prisoners. They pursued the rest ten leagues from the camp, as far as Mertwie-Wodi; but these, having had so great a start of them, were fortunate enough to escape with their prize.

After this annoying affair the army was more on its guard, and marshal Munich, who never forgave any the least negligence in his officers, caused the business to be rigorously examined into, to find by whose orders it was that the foragers had gone out of the camp without covering parties. The whole blame fell on the colonels and majors of the regiments; so that there was not one regiment of the left wing which had not a superior officer* punished. Some lost their rank for a time, others were mulcted of several months' pay.

* "Un officier de l'Etat-Major."

On the 12th the marshal detached general Romanzow, with the guards and some regiments of dragoons and Cossacks, to return into the Ukrain. Under their escort he also sent away all the Turkish prisoners. The object of this measure was to economise the supply of forage for the army.

On the 19th brigadier Boraitinsky, who commanded the second division of the fleet originally designed for the siege, and now for the victualment of Ockzakow, came down the Dnieper to about the point which was abreast of the encampment of the army. This division consisted of 48 double sloops, 4 cantzchibasses, and 57 large boats, having on board a great quantity of ammunition, material of war, and provisions, with 1878 men, soldiers and sailors. The third division of this fleet, which was of nearly the same strength, was to come down under the command of rear-admiral Mamonow; but it was unable to reach Ockzakow till towards the middle of September.

The next day the army shifted its camp, and went down along the Bug to near its confluence with the Dnieper*, where it stayed some days. From here marshal Munich, accompanied by Prince Antony Ulric, repaired on a visit of inspection to Ockzakow, to satisfy himself with his own eyes whether the works both of this place and of Kinburn had been properly repaired and enlarged.

As Munich had no sort of doubt that the Turks would besiege Ockzakow, and as it was a point of importance to Russia to have an intelligent officer there, major-general Stoffeln was sent for that purpose. Bachmetew having, besides, requested to be relieved on account of his bad health, Stoffeln, who desired nothing better than to have

* The Ingul appears to be meant.

an opportunity of distinguishing himself, accepted this command with pleasure; and the sequel will show that a better choice could not have been made.

After the return of the marshal the army made some marches along the side of the Bug *, and in the last days of August began its way back to the Ukrain. Munich divided it into several corps, who were, however, all obliged to repass the Dnieper on the bridge of Perevolotschna, where they separated, and each regiment took its route for its winter-quarters. Munich fixed his own at Pultowa.

This campaign did much honour to Munich, and greatly contributed to augment the reputation of the Russian troops; but it was in fact of very little more service to the state than the preceding, fatiguing and murderous as it was. The army had lost in the course of it 11,000 regulars and 5000 Cossacks. The loss in servants and peasants that drove the magazine carriages might be of double the number. As I have given details of the cases where any were killed or taken by the enemy, it will be readily seen that the greatest part must have perished by disease; for as to desertion, it is a thing unknown in the Russian armies.

There is one cause that, in a very great measure, accounts for the amount of sickness in the armies of Russia, viz., the almost continual fasts which they are obliged to observe, according to the Greek ritual. This condemns them for nearly three-fourths of the year to abstinence from flesh-meat; and to such a length is the superstition of the nation carried, that, though the synod grants them a dispensation for eating flesh during the actual campaign, there are few that choose to take the benefit

* This appears to be a *lapsus calami*, if not a mistake, for the Ingul.

of it, preferring death to the sin of breaking their rule. The Russian soldiers, withal, in the campaigns, lie on the bare ground, never so much as thinking of collecting straw or having coverings in their tents. True indeed it is, that in the war with the Turks there was no such thing as getting any conveniences of this kind, the campaigns being nothing but incessant marches. It was a wonder to continue five days together in the same camp. The care taken of the sick in these circumstances could not be much; and notwithstanding all that has been said of the Russians and their being so robust and hardy, they are subject to several diseases, as the scurvy and fevers, also in the field to dysentery, &c. Commonly one-third of the sick die. Nor is it anything extraordinary in a regiment, though in quarters, to have 200 sick at the beginning of spring and towards the autumn. There is to every regiment but one head-surgeon and his assistant, who are withal not of the most skilful. As to the surgeons of the companies, scarce can they shave. On a review of recruits a colonel will order a common peasant, who may have followed the plough-tail, to be a surgeon: the poor fellow protests in vain that he has no inclination to the profession, and that he shall never be able to learn it; but this avails him nothing, he must try; and if he has a thick head, it is made more penetrable by dint of blows. In the same manner are their bands chosen; so that one may easily judge of the quality of their military music.

The mortality of the cattle was extremely great during this campaign, there having fallen but little rain, which made the grass dry up sooner than usual. The Tartars, moreover, took care to set fire to it, so that the army often made two marches without finding grass enough for their horses and horned cattle. The artillery alone lost above 15,000 pairs of oxen; which was partly imputed to the

bad arrangements taken by the Prince of Hesse in not appointing, when the army first took the field, a sufficient number of supernumerary sets for draught; which he might have done, as there was a surplusage of some hundreds of pairs of oxen. The army had not made a dozen marches before disorder manifested itself in the artillery train; for, some pairs of oxen being foundered, a necessity arose for diminishing the number harnessed to the heavy guns; so that this arm, not being able to follow quick enough, often occasioned a delay in the march; an inconvenience which did not cease till the arrival of the army before Ockzakow. That town being taken, the marshal ordered the greatest part of the artillery to be left there, and that no more should be taken on than could be conveniently drawn. The Prince of Hesse, instead of obeying this order, left only a small part of the artillery in that place, and consequently at the second or third march there was no getting the train on. More than a fourth of the guns came to a halt soon after leaving the encampment, and the rear-guard was sometimes obliged to stop for twenty-four hours, till such oxen as had drawn one part of the artillery into the new camp were sent back to fetch the remainder from the old one. This it was which obliged the marshal to construct the fort of St. Andrew on the side of the Bug, and to send a great part of the artillery with the fleet to Ockzakow; and this too ultimately prevented farther confidence being placed in the Prince of Hesse Homburg, and led to his being no longer entrusted with any command of consequence. If the Russians had had to deal with an enemy of any skill they would have lost two-thirds of their artillery; perhaps more, for there were several very necessary precautions neglected.

While the army commanded by count Munich was

acting on the side of Ockzakow, marshal Lacy marched into the Crimea with another, consisting of thirteen regiments of dragoons, twenty regiments of infantry, and from 10,000 to 12,000 Cossacks and Calmucks; the whole amounting to about 40,000 combatants. The generals who commanded under Lacy were the general Lewaschew, lieutenant-generals Douglas, Spiegel, and Brilly, and major-generals Brigny the younger, Jerepkin, Dewitz, &c.

The infantry of this army assembled in the beginning of the spring on the river Mius, opposite to the small fort of Paulovsky, and thence marched in several columns as far as the Calmius, where they rested some days, to wait for the flotilla under the command of rear-admiral Bredal, which was to act on the Sea of Azoph, in concert with Lacy, so as to second his operations in the Crimea. As soon as it arrived Lacy continued his march to the river Berda. There it was that the whole army assembled. Count Douglass had brought the dragoons from Backmout, by the directest way through the steppes; Lacy on his march established some redoubts for keeping up the communications with Azoph.

After the marshal had held several conferences with Bredal, whose flotilla kept at anchor at the mouth of the Berda, and had concerted with him the operations of the campaign, he resumed his march, keeping as close as he well could along the shore of the Sea of Azoph. On arriving at the river Molotzchnie-Wodi, he built a fort there, in which he left a strong garrison and all the sick of the army.

On June 26th the army encamped on the shore of that arm of the Sea of Azoph which joins the lines of Perekop; and the fleet lay at not more than a cannon-shot distance from it.*

* This would probably be within the channel of Yenitchi. It will be remembered that no vessel drew four feet of water. See above, p. 126.

Lacy, who wanted to enter the Crimea without loss of time, instantly ordered the construction of a bridge, which was finished by the 28th; and some regiments of dragoons and 3000 or 4000 Cossacks passed over it immediately. By the 30th the whole army was got across, and continued its march along the shore of the Sea of Azoph. On July 2nd it was joined by 4000 Calmucks, under Goldan Narma, the son of the Khan Don-Duc-Ombo.*

The Khan of the Tartars of the Crimea, who had never imagined that the Russians would enter his country on that side, was exceedingly astonished when he received the news. He had posted himself, with all his troops, behind the lines of Perekop, which he had taken care to get repaired, and trusted to dispute the passage with the Russians more successfully than had been done by his predecessor the year before. But all this was so much trouble in vain. Lacy was in full march upon Arabat without having lost a single man.

As the Russian army was obliged to continue its march on a narrow spit of land formed by the Sea of Azoph, which stretches as far as Arabat, the Khan imagined he might retrieve his game at the outlet of the spit. Accordingly he marched there with all speed, in the hope of stopping the Russian army by means of the lines which had been carefully constructed at the base of that tongue of land, and of compelling it to retreat, or at least to fight at a disadvantage, if determined to force a

* It seems likely that these Calmucks came from one of the mouths of the Kuban, and were landed on the spit of Arabat. Perhaps the object of Don-Duc-Ombo in wintering on the banks of the Kuban (p. 147.) was to be in a position to effect this junction with the Russian army. The banks of the Kuban at Ekaterinodar are covered with fine oaks, and if these were felled in the winter, the melting of the snows in the spring would epable them to be brought to Temruk to form rafts for the transit of the horses.

passage. But Lacy baffled all his plans. Having received intelligence that the Khan was arrived at Arabat, and was there waiting for him, he caused the depth of that arm of the sea which separates this tongue of land from the rest of the Crimea to be sounded; and having found a place proper for his purpose, he had a floating bridge made *, for the construction of which he used all the empty casks of the army and the timbers of the *chevaux-de-frise*, and by this means crossed the channel with the infantry and baggage train. The dragoons, Cossacks, and Calmucks, swam or forded it over.

It was not the Khan alone who judged this enterprise of marshal Lacy, in marching along the spit of land towards Arabat, a rash one; for the generals of his own army were of the same opinion. All of them, except Spiegel, waited on him one morning in his tent, and represented to him that he was exposing the troops too much, and that they were running the risk of all perishing together. The marshal answered them, that there was danger in all military enterprises, but that he did not see more in this than in others. However, he begged to know what they thought best to be done. They unanimously replied, "To return with all possible speed." Upon which Lacy rejoined that, since the generals had a mind to return, he would have their passports made out accordingly; and actually called for his secretary, ordering him to make out and deliver them without delay. He even commanded a party of 200 dragoons to be their escort to the Ukrain, there to wait his return. It was three whole days before the generals could prevail on the marshal to relent, and forgive them the presumption they had shown in proposing a retreat to him.

* French "des radeaux." See the note on p. 179.

The Khan, who had imagined he should beat the Russian army on its debouching near Arabat, was altogether disconcerted to learn that it had crossed the arm of the sea and was now in full march towards him. But he did not think fit to wait for it. He retreated towards the mountains, harassed by the Cossacks and Calmucks at his heels. Lacy, having had advice of the retreat of the enemy, would not continue his march towards Arabat, but wheeled to the right, in order to get among the mountains in quest of the Khan, and give him battle, if the thing should be practicable.

On July 23rd the Russian army encamped at the distance of twenty-six versts, or about seven French leagues, from one of the best towns of the Crimea, called Karasu-Bazar. There it was attacked by a large body of picked troops, commanded by the Khan in person. The charge of the Tartars was at first very vigorous, but, after an hour's combat, they were repulsed with loss and driven off the field by the Cossacks and Calmucks, who pursued them four leagues into the mountains. The army remained in the same camp, but the light troops made a reconnaissance in the direction of Karasu-Bazar, to destroy the habitations of the Tartars. They returned the same day, with about 600 prisoners, a considerable booty, and a great quantity of cattle.

On the 25th lieutenant-general Douglass, in command of the vanguard, which consisted of 6000 men, dragoons and foot, and of the whole of the light troops, marched upon Karasu-Bazar. Marshal Lacy followed them with the rest of the army, having left behind him the baggage-train and the sick, with 5000 men to guard them, under the orders of brigadier Kolokoltzow.

The detachments of the enemy that endeavoured to stay the advance of these troops were uniformly repulsed; and

there was discovered, on a height near the town, an entrenched camp, in which there might be about from 12,000 to 15,000 Turks. Having surveyed this encampment, the marshal reinforced Douglas with two regiments of dragoons, and gave him orders to attack the enemy and make himself master of Karasu-Bazar. This was executed with all imaginable success; and the Turks fled after a contest of about an hour.

The inhabitants had entirely abandoned the town, so that there were none remaining in it but some Greek and Armenian families. The place therefore was taken without any resistance, but was not the less pillaged and reduced to ashes. This town, of which above one half was built of stone, contained about 6000 houses*, thirty-eight mosques and Turkish chapels, two Christian churches for the Greeks and Armenians, fifty water-mills, and a number of other public buildings. The booty the troops made was very considerable, the inhabitants not having had time to save their effects. As the town is situate at the foot of the mountains, where the passes are so narrow that scarce three men can march abreast; and as, besides, there was no forage in the neighbourhood, the marshal measured back his steps, and encamped at a league distance. The Cossacks and Calmucks had orders to penetrate as far as they could into the mountains, and to burn all the habitations of the Tartars.

On the 26th the army commenced a retrograde march towards the same camp in which they had left their baggage. Scarce had they got into the plain, when they saw the enemy advancing, with the bulk of his forces, on the other side of the river Karasu. Marshal Lacy instantly detached Douglass, with several regiments of foot

* The English edition has "10,000 houses."

and dragoons, and all the light troops, to make an attack. Douglass crossed the river a league above the enemy, and marched direct upon him. They cannonaded one another for near an hour, after which the Cossacks came to close quarters with their opponents. The skirmish was kept up smartly on both sides. The Cossacks were thrice repulsed; but as the regular troops kept advancing with an imposing aspect, the enemy was at last obliged to retreat, and the army encamped on the field of battle.

During the action Lacy had ordered the Calmucks to turn the enemy and take him in rear and flank. After the affair was over no Calmucks appeared; at which the marshal was extremely uneasy, apprehending they might have pursued the enemy too far into the mountains, so as to have their retreat to the army cut off, and perhaps all have been put to the sword. But two days afterwards they returned to camp, bringing with them above 1000 prisoners; and among them several Mirzas, that they had taken in this inroad, which of their own idea they had continued across the mountains as far as Bachtchi-Serai.

On the 27th the army returned to the camp, which it had occupied before its advance upon Karasu-Bazar. The marshal then held a grand council of war, in which it was resolved that, since the plan of operations prescribed to them had been executed, and there remained nothing considerable to be undertaken, it would be advisable to move towards the frontiers of the Crimea.

It took the army five days to get from this camp to the mouth of the river Schoungar, all of which time the light troops were engaged in reducing to ashes the habitations of the Tartars, for four or five leagues round the army; the number of which amounted to 1000 villages, or little open towns, the country being extremely populous on that side. They brought also to the camp above 30,000

oxen, and something like 100,000 sheep. The enemy, on their part, did not cease to harass the army in its march, and indeed found means at different times to carry off some of the officers' servants, who were imprudent enough to go beyond the line of the advanced posts, as also some hundreds of horses belonging to the train. As soon as the army was arrived upon the Schoungar, a bridge of boats was ordered to be got ready. It was finished by the morrow, the 2nd of August; when, on the same day, part of the army crossed it. The army had scarcely had time to form, when the enemy appeared with his whole force to oppose the passage. They had been reinforced by some thousands of Turks, come two days before from Caffa. Full of resolution they attacked the light troops several times, but were constantly repulsed. At length, tired with their fruitless attempts and with losing so many men by the fire of the artillery, they retreated, leaving on the spot about 100 of their dead.*

* This campaign of Lacy is not related by Manstein as an eye-witness, as the campaign of Munich in 1736 was. Accordingly the narrative of the last part of the marshal's movements is somewhat obscure. In all the maps of the present day the name *Tschungar* is given, not to any river or arm of the Siwasch, but to a peninsula of the main land. But in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1739 is a rude map, illustrative of the campaigns of 1736 and 1737, which professes to be a copy of one published by the Academy at Petersburg, from the charts sent by the generals Lacy and Munich in those years. This profession is probably true; for the dates given in a letter-press description in the margin of the map are those of the Russian Calendar, and correspond, *mutatis mutandis*, with those in Manstein, except in one instance, which is manifestly a clerical error. In this map the name Tschungar is given not to the peninsula, but to the estuary at the south of it.

In the same map the attack of the Tartars upon Lacy on the 2nd of August is supposed to take place *before* the passage of the Tschungar, whereas Manstein undoubtedly describes it (although in very vague language) as taking place *afterwards*. It is not easy to see how Turks, if

On August 4th the marshal passed the Schoungar with the rest of his army. There he remained a few days encamped; after which he formed a camp near the river Molotschnie-Wodi*, where he stayed out the whole month of August, finding there a locality abounding in forage. During that time he detached several parties of light

reaching an army upon the north side of the estuary, could be said to have arrived "from Caffa." In this particular instance Manstein's description seems to arise from a false account of the authority he followed; or perhaps from an inaccurate use of the phrase "pour s'opposer à ce passage." The attempt really seems to have been one to crush the rear of Lacy's army after the rest had got across; Manstein's expression leads one to suppose he regarded it as an attempt to drive back the van.

Another point of some interest suggests itself here. It seems plain, under any circumstances, that the passage of the Tschungar having been effected on a pontoon bridge, the pontoons must have been brought from Azoph by Bredal's flotilla; and that consequently, in the month of July, there was water enough to enable the crews to enter the strait of Yenitschi, and when there, co-operate with Lacy's army. It may therefore perhaps be conjectured, that some portion of the time which elapsed between July 2nd (when Lacy was considerably advanced upon the spit of Arabat), and July 23rd (when he was encamped within 26 versts of Karasu-Bazar) was employed in the transport of materials for his rafts by means of the boats of the flotilla. The map in the Gentleman's Magazine says that he did make use of "fifteen Cossack boats," together with the empty casks, to form "the bridge" by which he crossed from the spit of Arabat to the peninsula. By "Cossack boats" must be meant boats from the Don above Azoph; for the present Tschernomorien Cossacks were not inhabiting the country of the Kuban in 1737, that region, as Manstein relates, being occupied by the Nogays, who were so mercilessly destroyed by the Calmucks acting under the inspiration of the court of Petersburg. It is common in Southern Russia to cross rivers on raft bridges of the coarsest construction, consisting simply of logs of timber chained together; and the different features of Lacy's passage of the Siwasch from the spit of Arabat may apparently be well reconciled, by conceiving that the "radeaux" of Manstein were made in this way of the stems of the *cheavux de frise*, and that the casks and Cossack boats were made to compensate for the slender scantling of these by the great additional power of flotation they conferred.

* Milk-river.

troops in the direction of Perekop and towards the Dnieper, to reconnoitre the motions of the enemy; for he had received advice that the Khan, with from 30,000 to 40,000 men, had come out of the Crimea, to attempt some enterprise. On the 17th one of the Russian parties fell in with another of Tartars, which they attacked and beat. The prisoners brought into camp said it was true that the Khan had come from behind the lines of Perekop immediately after the Russian army had passed over the Schoungar, and had encamped several days on the steppes; but that, on learning that marshal Lacy had posted himself near Molotschnie-Wodi, he was afraid of his coming to attack him; and that this had determined him to re-enter the Crimea.

On August 9th the Russian fleet, under rear-admiral Bredal, had an affair with that of the Turks. The action came off in this manner. Bredal, having got abreast of the point of Kiskow * with his fleet, consisting of 100 sail, all double sloops, or other small vessels (the large not having been able to get over the shoals at the mouth of the river Don), perceived some Turkish vessels, which were bearing down on the same point. Upon this he thought fit again to get closer into shore, and to come to anchor in a convenient place. Towards two o'clock in the afternoon the whole Turkish fleet appeared in the offing. It consisted of two men-of-war, thirteen galleys, and forty-seven half-galleys; and one of the ships bore the Capitan Bashaw's flag. Bredal took all the measures necessary for a good defence. He made some of his vessels warp in yet closer to the land, and at the same time armed a battery on shore of fifteen guns, carrying from three to twelve-pound balls. At five

* This is probably the promontory called the spit of Berutchi on modern charts.

o'clock the cannonade began with equal briskness on both sides, and lasted till eight o'clock; when the Turks' fire slackened, and soon after they retreated out of gunshot. The Russian ships suffered very little, almost all the Turkish shot having gone high.*

At eight o'clock the next morning the Turks returned to the attack. The ship that carried the Bashaw's flag was that which ventured the nearest to the Russian fleet, and kept up a hot fire upon it. But this was returned with such effect from the gun-boats and the shore-battery, that he was obliged to draw off, together with the whole fleet, after an engagement of three hours. The Capitan Bashaw's ship, and some other of the Turkish vessels, were much damaged. On the part of the Russians there were not above thirty men in all killed and wounded. The Turkish fleet remained till noon of the 11th in sight of the Russian, and then, weighing anchor, got into the offing, taking an eastward course. Some time elapsing without any news of the enemy, Bredal on the 20th detached a sloop, which brought back word that, having proceeded as far as the river Berda, she had not seen a single vessel of the enemy. Some days afterwards advice came that their fleet had passed the straits†, and got into Caffa.

In the beginning of the month of September count Lacy quitted his camp at Molotschnie-Wodi, and resumed his route to the Ukrain. The Tartars, very glad at seeing

* The Russian shore-battery was probably on the cliff to the north of Yenitchi; and the fire of this would tell so much upon the Turks, that they would naturally be induced above all things to try to silence it. Very probably the battery had been constructed by Lacy for the defence of the strait of Yenitchi, and all that Bredal did was to put some guns into it. He could hardly have had time to do more.

† Of Yenikalé.

him take his departure, let him go without harassing him on his march. In the month of October he arrived on the frontiers of Russia, and sent his troops into winter-quarters along the Don and Donetz. His own he took up at Charkow. Here I cannot help mentioning a very curious circumstance that, in the course of this campaign, occurred in the Russian army. I have it from the marshal himself. While he was on the march to the Crimea there was one day discovered near the camp a spring of yellowish coloured water with a slightly bitter taste. A great number, officers as well as soldiers, under the pressure of thirst, drank some of it. A little while after all who had done so appeared drunk and stupefied. The marshal was terribly alarmed at this: he was afraid of losing his troops before they had seen the enemy. But a few hours of sleep relieved them. They had nothing come of it but a diarrhœa, which lasted some hours. There are, it seems, springs of this kind on the frontier of Persia, in the direction of Kisliar.

One of the most considerable events in the course of the year 1737 was the siege of Ockzakow, which the Turks undertook towards the end of the autumn, and which they were compelled to raïse by the gallant defence of general Stoffeln.

The Turks, who had not been able to gain any advantage over the Russians during the whole summer, conceived hopes of better success in the autumn, now that at the beginning of October the Russian army was already on the other side of the Borysthenes (Dnieper). They resolved then on the siege of Ockzakow.

But before I enter on an account of this siege I must go a little back. I have already, when relating the reduction of Ockzakow by the Russian army, observed that the town had been reduced to ashes, and that the garrison had been obliged to encamp behind the walls,

for want of houses to lodge in. From the first instant of taking possession they had been employed on nothing but making all the possible arrangements for convenience and defence. I also stated that the town of Ockzakow was situated in the middle of a desert, where not only all materials for the building of houses, but even the necessaries of life, were wanting. Great care had indeed been taken to send everything of that kind from Russia by the flotilla. But the falls of the Dnieper and bad weather generally hindered the boats from arriving in time, so that the garrison suffered extremely by the delay. Besides which, it was obliged to work without respite at the construction of lodgements for the winter, and at completing the lines designed to be carried quite round the place from the Liman, or mouth of the river, to the Black Sea.

These great fatigues, combined with the scanty sustenance of the soldiers, and the exhalation from so many corpses buried under the ruins, did not fail to cause great sickness. The garrison, which had been 8000 men strong, saw itself, by the end of September, reduced to 5000, of whom too there were above 1000 sick. Such was the condition of the garrison with which Stoffeln stood this memorable siege.

The enemy had from time to time sent out parties, which always kept at a distance without attempting anything beyond the carrying off some cattle; so that the garrison remained quiet enough, as far as the Turks were concerned, till the 17th of October; when for the first time some Turkish vessels came to anchor a cannon-shot off Kinburn. There however they did not stay more than two hours, in the fear of being attacked by the Russian fleet, which was then in the port of Ockzakow. They made sail again, and met with a severe storm.

On October 19th, towards midnight, a large detachment

of the Turkish cavalry approached the new redoubt erected near the Liman, and dismounting, thought to surprise the garrison; but having been discovered, they were received by a well-sustained fire, which obliged them to retreat precipitately. Their expedition had not, however, been quite in vain, for they found means to carry off near 100 oxen that were grazing before the lines.

On the 24th Stoffeln received advice by a Cossack party that the enemy was not above ten leagues from Ockzakow; upon which he redoubled his vigilance and care for putting everything into the best condition possible for making a vigorous defence. He held a council of war with the officers of the garrison, in which it was resolved to defend the place to the last extremity, and neither to take nor give quarter.

On the 26th the enemy's vanguard appeared before Ockzakow. In the night the place was invested on the land side; and the next day (the 27th) the whole Turkish army came to an encampment at a cannon-shot and a half from the glacis. Scarce had they pitched their tents when some detachments advanced to threaten the redoubts; others skirmished with the Cossacks under colonel Kapnist. Kapnist had taken care to rest his rear upon the glacis, so as to prevent the enemy's surrounding him, and by his good position kept them effectually in check. The rest of the army without much loss of time fell to opening the trenches in broad daylight, made some retrenchments, and armed some batteries; and this with so much diligence, that they opened fire and threw shells the following night.

The enemy's army was composed of 20,000 Turks and 20,000 Tartars; the seraskier Jentzch Ali Bashaw, the Khan of the Crimea, Begli-Gheri, and the Sultan of Biclogorod having the command of it.

At day-break of the 28th, Stoffeln retired into the town the regiments that had been encamped outside the lines.

The Turks had in the night-time made their approaches pretty near to the glacis, and had posted some thousands of men between the fort and the new *flèche*. At eight in the morning a body of about 6,000 Turks advanced to attack the lines in two places. Fifteen hundred of them fixed on the part where the regiment of Smolensko had begun to build its barrack, while the rest attacked the *flèche* constructed before the gate of Preobraschensky. Upon this a body of 400 men sallied out with two guns from St. Christopher's gate, and marched directly upon the party that were carrying on the attack of the barracks, whom they obliged to retreat. These, on their repulse, proceeded to unite with those who were making the other attack; but this detachment pursued them, and fell on their rear and flank, obliging the whole at last to fly and abandon all the posts they had occupied. They were pursued to their very batteries, and had four colours and two barrels of powder taken; and their loss amounted to above 400 men.

At ten o'clock the Turks returned to the attack, but without coming nearer than musket-shot; and while the small arms on both sides were keeping up a continual fire, another detachment formed a lodgement in one of the neighbouring gardens, where they placed a cannon and mortar, with which they did not cease firing on the *flèche*. But they were steadily repulsed [till two at night.] On the same day colonel Wedel arrived with 800 men from the two regiments at Kinburn. He reported that the enemy had appeared before that place, but without undertaking anything, though the Khan of the Crimea had

boasted of having sent a detachment of Tartars thither strong enough to raze it to the ground.

On the 29th the enemy made a general assault at the gate of Ishmaëlow, where the bad weather had caused a part of the ditch to be filled up, and penetrated into the covered-way; but they were presently driven out of it again, and pursued as far as the rear of their retrenchment, and they would have been pursued farther if they had not been supported by a reserve. They lost above 500 men and three colours. The same day the Turks completed their third battery, from which they began to throw large bomb-shells and to give fire from several eighteen and twenty-four pounders; those they had hitherto employed not being above twelve-pounders. The enemy worked the whole night at making a retrenchment with redoubts on a rising ground opposite to the gate of Ishmaëlow, and occupied it on the 30th. The firing was continual on both sides; and in the evening the besieged made a sally towards the redoubts along the Liman, drove the Turks from all the posts they were occupying on that side, killed near 150 men, took from them four colours, and spiked six pieces of cannon. Major Antziforow, who commanded this sallying party, was killed. At night an officer with fifty men found means to pass the posts of the enemy unperceived, and got into the camp, where he killed a number of the enemy in their tents. It was above half an hour before there was the least alarm; but the men having at length begun to plunder the tents, after killing all the occupants, only six succeeded in withdrawing, and all the rest were cut to pieces.

On the 31st the firing continued with the same vivacity as on the preceding evening. A shell from the besiegers fell into one of the bastions, and set fire to some barrels of powder, by which some men were killed. Towards

the evening two galleys of the enemy approached the redoubts, and opened fire upon them; but were so well answered, that they were soon obliged to sheer off. There were not, during the whole siege, counted above fourteen Turkish galleys, not one of which was able to enter the Liman for the cannon of Kinburn.

November 1st: the firing did not slacken; and a shell falling into the bastion, near the St. Christopher gate, on the side of the Liman, exploded some grenades, but did no other damage.

November 2nd: a bomb blew up a small magazine of powder, by which three men were killed. Seven galleys appeared in the offing, hugging the coast below Ockzakow, over against the enemy's camp.

November 3rd: the besieged completed the traverses in the main ditch and in the covered way, and drew a line of communication from the gate of Preobraschensky to their camp; they also threw up a retrenchment that reached from the Kalantscha to the sea, which they had begun on the 1st and 2nd.

November 4th: two hours before day-break, the fire of artillery and small arms became very violent on the side of the Ishmaëlow gate; and no sooner did the morning dawn, than 6000 Turks made a furious assault upon the redoubts which had been built near the sea. After an hour's combat they forced the retrenchment, carried the redoubts, and penetrated to the Kalantscha. But this advantage they did not hold long. Stoffeln having ordered out from the town a sallying party of 1000 men, under brigadier Bratke, these repulsed them on all sides, drove them out of the retrenchments and redoubts, and pursued them even into their camp. The confusion on this was general throughout the whole Turkish army; there were some that already began to quit the camp and betake

themselves to flight; nor was it till after their own officers had killed several of them, that they could succeed in bringing them back to their duty.

This assault cost the enemy near 3000 men. The besieged did not lose above 150; nor would their loss have been so great, if it had not been for the excessive impetuosity of some 30 men, who, not content with having driven away the enemy, pursued him too far, though forbidden by their officers. They were all cut to pieces as soon as the enemy had recovered from his first surprise. On this occasion the small cohorns for throwing grenades of six pounds did special service.

On the 5th and 6th the enemy redoubled the fire of his artillery, and threw a great quantity of shells into the town; but he could do no damage, as there were scarcely any houses, and the garrison was distributed on the ramparts, in the covered way, and in the redoubts.

November 8th: an hour before day, the enemy exploded two mines they had made over against the bastion of Loewendal; but these, not being deep enough, neither damaged the palisades nor did any mischief to the troops behind them.

An hour and a half afterwards the Turks, under cover of the fire of their whole artillery, made a false attack on the redoubt situate upon the rising ground on the side of the Liman; after which they wheeled all on a sudden to the right, and turning their efforts towards the gate of Ishmaëlow, made on that side a general assault with their whole infantry and 5000 spahis, who had been obliged to dismount and fight a-foot. The attack was made with such fury that 300 men forced the palisades and penetrated to the gate of Ishmaëlow; some hundred more also got across the palisades over against the St. Christopher gate, passed the ditch, and even reached the

water-gate. But the garrison defended themselves so well, that the enemy was soon repulsed, and driven back again into his own retrenchments. His loss might amount to 4000 men. Two mines, which during the assault the besiegers sprung with great success, contributed much to the discomfiture of the Turks, having blown up a great number of them into the air; while the others, in the apprehension of the like fate, were so intimidated, that it was impossible for their officers to keep them from running away. At the time of the assault Stoffeln commanded on the side of the covered-way, and the brigadier Bratke, with colonel Wedel, were on the water-gate side. The besieged took on this occasion several colours, and four horse-tails, and found a great many scaling-ladders, fascines, and tools for sapping, which were all brought into the town.

It was during this siege, and especially in this action, that the Russians derived great service from their pikes; for while their enemies were in the ditch, and bent on attacking the water-gate, the colonels Wedel and La Tour made a sally out from another gate, marched up to them in a column, and, avoiding the closing with them, used merely their pikes, as the only thing to secure themselves against the Turkish sabres.

The enemy did not afterwards for the whole day fire a single gun; nor till the next, the 9th, did the batteries again begin playing, which they then did with great activity. They brought out in full daylight scaling-ladders and fascines to the approaches for a fresh assault; but three hours after sunset the cannonade ceased all on a sudden, and soon after fires were seen in different parts of their camp. On this a detachment from the garrison went out; and having pushed as far as into the enemy's camp, found

not a soul still there, and neither gun nor mortar in the batteries.

November 10th: at break of day, there was, for fear of any surprise, a stronger detachment sent out; and it was not long before a confirmation was brought of the first report. The enemy had precipitately taken to flight, and had left behind him a great quantity of bombshells, grenades, and ammunition, besides all the fascines, scaling-ladders, and tools for the sap.

Some Zaporavian Cossacks, who had made an expedition from their capital quite up to the gates of Bender, arrived the same day at Ockzakow, and reported that the enemy had about noon passed the river Berosouka, at four French leagues from Ockzakow.

November 11th: advice was received that the enemy was already ten leagues off. The same day the garrison cleared the fosse and all round the town of the dead bodies. There were found 3000 of the enemy killed at only the assault of the 8th of November.

Their attempt cost the Turks above 20,000 men, of whom at least the half perished of sickness. The season, which was too far advanced before they undertook the siege, and the continual rains they had to endure, doubtless contributed greatly to the mortality, and to the miscarriage of the enterprise.

After the Turks had been repulsed with such loss at the last assault, near 10,000 men set out immediately for their own country; nor could either the entreaties or the severities of the officers, who caused several of the runaways to be beheaded, engage them to return to the camp [and to their duty]. The others, who remained, began to murmur openly, saying, that there must be a design to have them uselessly massacred; that it was impossible to take such a place as Ockzakow at so advanced

a season, where, too, the besieged defended themselves like lions; that, in short, they would not take another step towards the assault. Such speeches obliged the seraskier to raise the siege, he fearing to be deserted by his troops and to lose a numerous artillery, should he persist in pressing it but a few days longer.

The loss of the garrison amounted to above 2000 men. It had been 4000 strong on the day that the Turks invested the place, and had, as above observed, received a reinforcement of 800 men that colonel Wedel brought from Kinburn; and on the day that the enemy raised the siege there were not above 2000 in the town in effective condition.

From the first day of the siege to the last the whole garrison had been distributed over the ramparts, in the covered-way, and in the redoubts, where they had remained night and day without being relieved; and indeed there were scarce numbers sufficient to man all the posts. Such fatigue could not fail of producing sickness; and as withal there was a want of a thousand things necessary for ordinary subsistence, the soldiers were at length so wasted, that they could hardly support themselves on their feet; notwithstanding which, they did their duty admirably and without murmuring; nor were there, in the whole space of time that the Turks invested the place, more than two deserters.

All the time this siege lasted marshal Munich was in great anxiety. He had, it is true, taken all precautions that depended on him to make the enterprise of the enemy miscarry, but he had not dared to hope it would, considering the bad state in which he knew the garrison then was. As soon as he learnt that the place was invested, he made fresh arrangements for relieving it. General Leontew with 10,000 men was under orders to

reinforce it. Several regiments were also embarked in boats to go down the Dnieper; and these had already passed the falls when they received the news that the Turks had retreated. The joy was the greater for this result having been little expected.

The empress was extremely pleased with the conduct of general Stoffeln, and, not contented with promoting him to be a lieutenant-general, made him besides a grant of very considerable lands in the Ukraïn. Bratke was made a major-general, and the whole garrison received a gratuity of several months' pay.

The flotilla which lay at anchor near the town of Ockzakow, and which consisted of about 100 sail, for the most part double shallops, contributed greatly towards the raising the siege; for besides hindering the Turks from investing the place to seaward, it seconded the fire from the ramparts to very good purpose. The commander of the Turkish squadron, who had had orders to attack and beat that of Russia, lost his head for not executing them.

I question whether there are any other troops in the world that could, or rather that would, have patiently endured such fatigues as those of the siege of Ockzakow; and this confirms me in the opinion I have always had that the Russians are capable of undertaking and executing everything when they are well led; but it is requisite they should have a number of foreign officers, as the soldiers have more confidence in them than in those of their own nation.

Having pursued without interruption the narrative of the operations of the campaign, I shall here insert some other remarkable facts that occurred in the course of the year 1737.

The courts of Petersburg and Vienna had already, under

the reign of Catherine, concluded a strict alliance, which was drawn yet closer in that of the Empress Anne. It had been agreed, that in the case of one of the two powers feeling obliged to come to a rupture with the Porte, the other should assist it with 30,000 men, and even declare war, if the situation of things would permit it. In consequence of this treaty, the Emperor had, during the year 1736, made all necessary dispositions in Hungary; and war was declared in the beginning of the year 1737.

They did not, however, in the mean time, neglect negotiation. The small town of Nemirow was pitched upon for holding a congress. It is situated in Poland, on the river Bug, near the frontier of Wallachia, and belongs to the count Pototski, the grand-general of Poland. The court of Petersburg sent thither the baron Schafirow, Mons. Waliński, and Mons. Neplueff; that of Vienna, the count Ostein, the baron Thalman, and the count Weldsegg; the Porte, the Reis Effendi, (or Grand Chancellor), Metipi and Mustapha Effendis, these last both members of the Divan. The congress commenced on the 16th of August; but as not one of the three belligerent powers would give up a tittle of their respective pretensions, the negotiations did not continue long, and the congress broke up on the 14th of October. The count Ostein returned to Petersburg, where he had resided several years in quality of minister plenipotentiary; but the Russian ministers remained the rest of the year at Kiev.

The count Ostein, after his return to Petersburg, exerted his utmost efforts to persuade the Russian court to send a large body of troops by way of Wallachia into Hungary, to join the imperial army, in order to act with more effect on that side. General the marquis de Botta was sent from Vienna to second the proposal; but marshal Munich having arrived at court, managed to bring

forward such good reasons against it, that the auxiliary force was refused. The wish of Russia was to have its armies act by themselves; and it consequently proposed by attacking the Porte on two sides, thus to make a diversion, and hinder the whole Turkish power from falling on the imperial army. And, indeed, it clearly appeared at the end of the war, that if the emperor had been as well served as Russia, he would not have been obliged to agree to the most shameful peace that had been made for many ages.

The court of Vienna had never been very well pleased with count Munich, nor was it for want of its wishing it that that general was not superseded many years before his disgrace. Munich, on his part, bore the Austrian court no more good-will; his pride could never brook the haughtiness of that court, nor did he let slip any occasion of calling the attention of the empress and the ministry to it. I am persuaded, that if he had remained at the head of affairs, the two courts would not be so united as they are at present. Colonel Barenklaw had been sent from Vienna to make the campaign with the Russian army, to observe its operations, and report them to his court. On the part of Russia, colonel Darewski, and some other officers, had been sent to the imperial army for the same purpose. After the capture of Ockzakow, Barenklaw gave an account of it to his court; and in a letter written to count Ostein at Nemirow said, among other sarcastic remarks, that undoubtedly never had troops attacked a town with more courage; but that as to the generals, they were all of them, without exception, only fit at the most to be captains of grenadiers. Ostein gave a copy of this letter to the Russian ministry, who did not fail to send it to Petersburg, from whence it was transmitted to count

Munich, and he, as may well be imagined, was stung to the quick at Barenklaw's criticism. He reproached him in the bitterest language, and treated him ever afterwards with utter contempt. All this served to increase the hatred of the court of Vienna against the marshal. Barenklaw was recalled, and colonel baron de Reiske sent in his room. He went through the two campaigns of 1738 and 1739 with the Russian army.

As to colonel Darewsky, whom the court of Petersburg had sent in the year 1737 to the imperial army, he was employed the two ensuing years in Poland, on some negotiations with the nobles of that kingdom, and M. Bovier was sent in his room to the imperial army. In the unfortunate affair of Krotzka, the latter was taken prisoner by the Turks, and ransomed by count Villeneuve, the French ambassador.

It was also in the course of this year (1737), that count Biron was elected duke of Courland. The duke Ferdinand, of the house of Kettler, died at Dantzig; and with him the male line became extinct. The court of Petersburg, on receiving advice of this, instantly ordered general Bismark, governor of Riga, to enter the duchy with the troops under his command, to support the election of the new duke.* The nobility of Courland having, in the meanwhile, assembled at Mittau, repaired to the cathedral, where, after the *Veni Creator* being sung, Ernest John de Biron was elected duke of Courland by a majority of votes. It is to be observed, that general Bismark posted some companies of horse in the church-yard of the cathedral, and in the town, so that the election could not fail. I

* The republic of Poland had in 1732 formed a design of breaking up Courland into palatinates, and the measure was to take effect at the vacancy of the dukedom. The empress opposed the scheme, as Manstein relates above, page 60.

have already related the origin and the personal qualities of the new duke.*

The nobility of Courland, which had always been very stirring, and had enjoyed great independence under the government of the previous dukes, saw itself all on a sudden in quite a different situation. No man could venture to open his mouth without running a risk of being arrested and sent to Siberia. For executing this, a particular method of procedure was used by the new duke. The party suspected of speaking too freely, was, in the moment he least thought of it, seized by persons in masks, who threw him into a close carriage, and conveyed him to the remotest provinces of Russia. There were several of these spiritings away during the three years that the duke Ernest John reigned, but I will only relate one, which deserves that distinction by its singular character.

A gentleman whose name was Sacken, while standing one evening before the door of his country-house, was seized by unknown persons and thrown into one of these close carriages. He was for near two years carried about from province to province, and not suffered to see any human creature, even his conductors themselves never appearing before him unmasked. At the end of that time, the horses were one night taken out of the carriage, and he left asleep in it. There he remained quietly till the morning, in the expectation of being made to continue his journey as usual. Broad day-light came on, without any one coming to him, and all on a sudden he heard persons talking in the Courland language, near the carriage; upon which he opened the door and found himself at the gate of his own house. He made his complaint to the duke, who did not fail to carry the farce on by representing his grievance to the court of Russia, from whence an answer

* See above, pp. 41—44.

came, that if he could point out the persons who had done this action, care should be taken that they were rigorously punished.

I return now to the military operations. The Calmucks had again invaded the Kuban, of which they laid waste a great part, and reduced the remainder to an entire subjection to the empress. The winter-quarters of the army were the same as those of the preceding year; that is to say, in the Ukrain; where the majority of the regiments were employed in breaking the ice on the Dnieper, and in guarding the frontiers against the invasion of the Tartars; all which could not, however, prevent these vagabonds from making fresh incursions.

It was in the month of February that they attempted a very considerable one, but which, after all, came to little. The Khan himself was in it, at the head, as was asserted, of 40,000 men. His design had been to force the lines of the Ukrain, to penetrate far into the country, and to destroy every thing by fire and sword. On his approach to the lines, however, he found it would be too dangerous to enter on that side, because his retreat might be cut off; so that he pursued his way to Izioum, where there are no lines, and there are extensive plains. He would not, however, risk the entering with his whole army into the enemy's country, but posting himself upon the river Donetz, he sent off large detachments, which found means to burn a number of villages, and to carry off some inhabitants of the plain. In the mean while, the generals, who had it in charge to guard the frontiers, assembled the troops under their orders, and directed their movements so well, that some of those Tartar detachments were intercepted, and the booty they had made recovered from them. And when he learnt that the troops were collected together, and advancing to attack his army, the Khan retreated as

fast as he could. The marshal, who just at the time this happened, was returning from Petersburg to his head-quarters at Pultowa, pursued the enemy, for some marches, across the steppe, but could not come up with him. After this the troops remained undisturbed in their winter-quarters.

Munich, proposing to open the campaign as soon as possible, set the regiments to work at preparing means of transport, and ordered them to provide themselves with biscuit for several months. In Russia nothing but the crude material is served out to the soldier, and he must work it up; carts, clothes, and the like, are all made by himself. The flour is served out to the regiments, but the soldier is obliged to bake his bread, and make his biscuits, because both kinds of food are more portable in this form, and less apt to spoil with keeping.

At the beginning of the year, the court made a great promotion of general officers; and that the military chest might not suffer by such an increase of the establishment, those regiments which they had before in quality of colonels were left to the new generals, so that the commissary only paid them a balance to make up the sum they were to receive as generals. For in Russia the promotion to the rank of general involves the loss of the regiment.

In the beginning of April, the regiments received marching orders for the general rendezvous of the army, which was, as the year before, near Perevolotschna.

In the first days of May, the whole army assembled, and passed the Dnieper on a bridge of boats.

The generals who served in this campaign under marshal Munich were the general Romanzow; lieutenant-generals Sagraïsky, Charles Biron, Löwendal, and Gus-

tavus Biron; and major-generals the Prince Antony Ulric of Brunswick, the Prince of Holstein Beck, Bouterlein, Lieven, Keyserling, Fermor, Magnus Biron, Philosophow, Chroutzcheff, Stockman, Prince Basil Repnin, &c.

Baron Löwendal had the special charge of the artillery; for the Prince of Hesse Homburg, who had got married at Petersburg, served neither in this campaign nor the following one; the court being dissatisfied with his conduct in the two preceding.

Keith could neither serve in this campaign nor the ensuing one, on account of the wound he had received at Ockzakow; but the empress gave him the rank of full general *, which answers to that of general of infantry or of cavalry in the German service. During this campaign he remained at Pultowa, and had the command of all the troops that were left to guard the Ukrain. For this year's campaign, Munich's army was not, at the most, above 50,000 strong, including the Cossacks.

After the army had crossed the Dnieper, it marched on very quietly and leisurely, without hurrying itself, as far as the river Bug, where it arrived on the 30th of June. It was not till this day that the first intelligence was received, from some prisoners made by the light troops, that the enemy was not far off, and that he was advancing upon the small river Kodima, where he designed to wait for the Russian army and give it battle. The bridges were instantly ordered to be got ready. Three were finished by the 3rd of July, one of pontoons, the others of casks.†

July 4th: the army began to defile over those bridges, and on the 7th the baggage was all got over. The army remained three days encamped on the other side of the

* *Général en chef.*

† See p. 138.

Bug. There three divisions were made, each of which formed a hollow square, and, in marching, had its equipages in the middle. In this disposition too the army encamped, whenever the situation did not allow it to rest upon a river, or to take up some stronger position.

July 10th: the army got under march, and towards noon crossed the river Kodima, near its confluence with the Bug, on several bridges thrown over it. It then encamped between the two rivers, having its left on the Kodima, and its right extending to the Bug, so that it had this river on its rear. Towards five in the afternoon, while the army was employed in pitching its camp, the chief of the Cossacks of the Don brought advice that the enemy, to the number of several thousands, were showing themselves on the other side of the Kodima, which the Russians had just crossed; and as a great part of the baggage-train of the army, as well as the artillery and provisions, had not been able to reach the camp on account of the defiles, general Romanzow and lieutenant-general Gustavus Biron took with them some regiments, and returned to the other side. The enemy attempted nothing all that day; the army formed its camp without hindrance, and the artillery, the provisions, and the baggage-train, had time to get into it during the night.

July 11th: very early in the morning, the Cossacks reported that a strong detachment of the enemy was in sight in the distance. No great attention was at first paid to this, but when towards seven o'clock, the whole neighbouring plain, for half a league round *, was seen covered with Turks and Tartars, the marshal began to think the affair might become serious. The foragers and their escorts were called in, and the whole army had orders

* The English edition has "for a league and a half round."

to get under arms. At eight o'clock the advanced guard of the right wing was attacked. The lieutenant-general Segraïsky, with a part of the picquets of the army, supported it so effectually, that the enemy was repulsed on that side. The Turks had, at the same time, attacked the camp of the Cossacks of the Ukrain, in the hope, as these are reputed the worst troops the Russians have, to take it without much resistance; but, on some picquets under the orders of major-general Philosophow advancing boldly, they retreated in all haste. The greatest efforts of the enemy were opposite to the centre. Brigadier Schipow, who was in turn for the day, seeing that the advanced guard of the right wing was attacked on all sides, assembled those of the centre into one body, and marched straight against the enemy; but advancing too far, he was entirely surrounded and attacked on all sides. He defended himself with incredible valour, but must have been overpowered by numbers, if he had not been soon succoured. The marshal hastened in person to his relief, at the head of a detachment of cuirassiers; and was supported by the lieutenant-generals Löwendal and Gustavus Biron, who put themselves each at the head of some battalions, and the enemy was soon repulsed on that side also. The Turks returned several times to the attack, without, however, being able to gain the least advantage. The artillery did wonders, the enemy having more killed by the fire of the cannon than by that of the small arms. The Turks kept the field some time longer in presence of the Russians; but marshal Munich having advanced with part of his army, so formed that the flanks were covered by the infantry, the dragoons, (of whom the greatest part had dismounted), being among the foot along the lines, while the hussars and Cossacks skirmished on the wings, they retreated entirely, not being able to sustain the fire

of the artillery. The loss on both sides was not great; the Russians had a colonel among the wounded, and of the Turks there were about 200 left on the field.

While the main strength of the Turks had been employed in attacking the army, they had sent a large detachment against a convoy that was coming from the Ukrain, and had, without any obstacle, got to within four leagues of the army. Happily there is nothing but level ground in that country*, so that the commanding officer could descry the enemy from a great distance. He had time to form a retrenchment of his waggons; behind which he defended himself, till the marshal, on advice of his danger, sent some regiments to relieve him. The enemy was repulsed, and the convoy got safe into camp, without having lost a single waggon. To this camp several foreign officers, some merely to make the campaign in quality of volunteers, others to enter the Russian service, came and joined the army. Earl Crawford, and several other English or Scotch men, as also the count of Isemburgh, [knight of the Teutonic order, and] lieutenant-colonel in the service of Hesse, were among the volunteers.

After this action, the army continued its march for some days quietly enough, the Turks not approaching it except in small parties. News however came, that they were marching with their whole force towards the river Savran, on the frontiers of Poland. Count Munich resolved to follow them thither. He arrived at the river-side on the 17th of July, and the bridges were instantly got in readiness for passing.

July 18th. The Zaporavian Cossacks, who had been sent on to reconnoitre, reported that the enemy was at

* The *defiles* mentioned above (p. 201.) are water-courses. See p. 150.

not above one or two leagues distance, in full march to attack the Russians.

July 19th. The advanced guard of the army, consisting of seven regiments of infantry, a regiment of hussars, and some thousands of Cossacks, all under the orders of lieutenant-general Charles Biron, crossed the Savran. At one in the afternoon, the enemy was observed making dispositions for advancing to attack the army. They began with the Zaporavian Cossacks, who had posted themselves on a rising ground, at the right wing, and had fortified their camp with their baggage-waggons. The Turks charged them several times both on horseback and on foot, with a great deal of vigour; but finding more resistance than they had reckoned on, they were extremely disheartened; and some support that the marshal sent to the Cossacks made them retire into a neighbouring wood. In the mean while, the marshal drew his army out of the camp, leaving under the command of general Romanzow no more men in it than would just serve to guard the baggage. He formed a line, the right of which rested on the Zaporavian camp, and the left on a ravine, deep and extremely steep, that was in advance of the camp. These measures did not disconcert the enemy; who made several attacks, sometimes on the right, sometimes on the left. Some of his forces even took a circuit and came to attack the camp, but they were everywhere repulsed with loss. Towards four the enemy had given way on every side; the Cossacks were even on the pursuit, insomuch that it was imagined the Turks were going altogether to quit the field of battle. But this was a mistake, for about five o'clock they formed afresh in front of a wood, and returned to attack the Russians with more fury than before, but they were again repulsed, and at length forced to fly. They left above 1000 dead on the

field. Lieutenant-general Löwendal, who had placed the artillery on a rising ground at the right wing, from which his fire took the enemy in flank, contributed greatly to the victory.

This action had so much discouraged the Turks, that not only was the army not molested by them in its march for several days, but nothing was heard of them till the first of August, when intelligence came through a Wallachian deserter, that a considerable body, composed of Turks and Tartars, and commanded by the Sultan of Biclogorod, and four Bashaws, was arrived to within four leagues of the army, and designed to attack the next morning. On this advice, dispositions were made for a battle, and the army, which was then entangled in some defiles, marched all night to get out of them. The Cossacks of the Don, who had been detached to observe the motions of the enemy, returned early on the morning of the 3rd of August bringing with them eight prisoners, made from a party of the enemy, which they had fallen in with and put to flight. These prisoners said, that the seraskier of Bender, after repassing the Dniester with his army, had ordered the Sultan of Bielogorod to proceed to attack the Russians with his Tartars; but that he had refused to do so unless he had with him some Turkish troops. The seraskier had then allowed him to take 8000 men, under Vely Bashaw, one of their best officers, and the same who had attacked the Russians in the actions of the 11th and 19th of July. This Vely Bashaw was the next year seraskier of Bender, and commanded the Ottoman troops against the Russians.

The army continued its march towards the Dniester, which was not above two leagues off, having the river of Molotschitzche on the right, and that of Bielotschitzche on the left. The enemy soon after coming in sight,

the marshal put himself at the head of a detachment of horse-guards and cuirassiers, to go and reconnoitre them. He saw them in order of battle behind a hill, at half a league's distance from the army. Upon this, he ordered the quartermaster general Fermor, who was in the vanguard with 7 regiments of foot, a regiment of hussars, and 2000 Cossacks, to throw his troops into a square, and march towards the hill to examine the posture of the enemy. At the same time, he sent word to lieutenant-general Charles Biron to follow the vanguard with his whole division, and to push on in advance three regiments of foot, and some companies of grenadiers on horseback, under the orders of the Prince of Brunswick; who, with this corps, took up a position over against the left wing of the enemy, where lieutenant-general Löwendal joined him, and proceeded to post the field-guns there. Soon after, the enemy advanced, and fell on the detachment of the Prince of Brunswick, but he was smartly repulsed, and such a confusion created among his troops, that, seeing the Russians advancing upon them, they betook themselves altogether to flight. The light troops were sent in pursuit of them, and brought word that they had retreated; some towards the Dniester, and the others along the Molotschitzche. Some days before this action, the army had made two marches in succession across a desert, in which there was not a drop of water to be had; and if the enemy had attacked it in this unfortunate situation, they might have done it a great deal of mischief.

August 6th: the army, at break of day, resumed its march, having still the small river Molotschitzche on its right, and Bielotschitzche on its left. They had not proceeded far, before they saw the camp of the Sultan of Biclogorod, who, with all the Tartars, and some thousands

of Turks, was posted on an eminence on the other side of the river Molotschitzche, at its confluence with the Dniester. As soon as the enemy perceived the army advancing, they passed the little river, and posted themselves on a rising ground, on the left of the Russians. This movement made the marshal judge that they would come on to attack him. Upon this, the vanguard halted, to give time for the divisions and the rearguard, which had become too much separated during the march, to come up; and also to take the necessary measures for effectually covering the baggage and provisions. The enemy made a great many troops defile in order to attack the rearguard, which was done towards ten in the morning, while at the same time, another body of troops came to attack the vanguard; but these last were instantly repulsed by the Cossacks and Calmucks. The attack on the rearguard lasted longer, and was sharper. Munich repaired thither in person. The Cossacks of the Don were exposed to the first brunt of the enemy, who fell upon them with great impetuosity, and at first obliged them to give way; but presently recovering from their disorder, they returned to the charge, and attacking the Tartars with their pikes, forced them to retreat in their turn, though far superior in number. Major-general Philosophow, who brought up the rearguard with four regiments of foot, and had been obliged to remain a little behind to cover the rest of the baggage, followed the army slowly, and on account of the bad roads, was not able to march in close order. The enemy attacked him with a great deal of spirit, and would have gained an advantage over him if he had not been promptly supported. But general Romanzow hastening to him with some companies of mounted grenadiers, and three regiments of foot, obliged the Turks to retreat.

The better to protect the baggage, several battalions were posted on the flanks, at proper intervals from the rear to the van of the army, which was allowed to rest until every thing was ready for its reception in the camp which it was to occupy. The enemy tried to set fire to the grass, but as it had rained plentifully for some days before, their endeavours were ineffectual.

Towards five o'clock in the afternoon, the enemy attempted a fresh attack on the Cossacks of the Don and the Calmucks, but having been again repulsed, they retreated along the Dniester. The army then entered its camp, the right wing being a cannon-shot off the Dniester, and the rear resting on the river Bielotschitzche. The loss the Russians sustained by this action might be about 200 in all. A colonel of the Cossacks of the Don was in the number of the slain.

In this camp the Russians were situated over against that of their enemies, who were in sight of them on the other side of the river, well entrenched, and with effective batteries. The janissaries from time to time crossed the river in small boats, to skirmish with the advanced posts.

August 7th: the whole day passed in skirmishes, and in reconnoitring the sides of the river, to see if a proper place could be found for passing it; but the banks, (which are of rock,) were so steep in that part, that it would have been rashness to think of undertaking it. The enemy were 60,000 strong, on the other side of the river, where they had sixty cannon and fifteen mortars in position, besides which, the Sultan of Bielogorod, who had not passed the Dniester, had encamped but two leagues off from the left of the Russians, and perpetually harassed their advanced guard. The marshal, therefore, contented himself with

erecting batteries of cannon and mortars on the river side, and on the night between the 8th and 9th began a cannonade and bombardment of the enemy's camp, but to no effect; and as the forage was beginning to fall short in the Russian camp, it became a necessity to remove.

August 9th: at break of day the army got under march, and had scarce proceeded a cannon-shot from its last camp, when the Turks, crossing the river in great numbers, joined the Tartars, and afterwards kept alongside of the Russians during their whole march, and harassed them without intermission.

The enemy kept on passing the river during the whole day, so that before evening more than half of their army was got over.

August 10th: the army got under arms to cover the baggage, as it crossed the bridges thrown over the Molotschitzche, when the enemy advanced in order of battle, and attacked them repeatedly in several places: but they were constantly repulsed, although they had never shown themselves so determined as on this occasion. The country hereabouts is intersected with a number of ravines, and full of rocks and great stones, which gave great advantage to the janissaries, who, creeping behind those stones, to within musket-shot of the Russian troops, kept up an extremely sharp fire upon them. But at length the marshal commanded several companies of grenadiers to attack them, and these charged them with such good effect, that they were dislodged from their lurking places, and obliged to fly for their lives. The regiment of Stoianoff hussars and the Cossacks, with some companies of dragoons, pursued the runaways as far as the ground would permit. The loss of the Russians amounted to 300 men; but there was not one officer either killed or

wounded. The enemy lost above 2000 men*, left on the field of battle.

Marshal Munich remained some time longer in the vicinity of the Dniester, making as if he intended to cross it, but he always found the Turkish army opposite to him; at length, he moved upon the Bug, and [having advice that the enemy's army was separated, and that even the detachment which had kept along-side of the Russian army, continually harassing it in its marches, was retreated, he] recrossed that river on the 1st of September.

Before the marshal crossed the Bug, the enemy had not shown themselves for several days, except at a great distance and in small parties. This had lulled the camp into a security, of which the Sultan of Bielogorod did not fail to take advantage. In the night-time, he got near the Russians with a considerable force, and posted himself in ambuscade in a deep ravine.† The next day, the lieutenant-general Sagraïsky, who commanded one of the divisions of the army, ordered a forage for his division, under the escort of a colonel and major, and 800 men, foot and dragoons. But as there prevailed a feeling of perfect security, the escort was only for form. The foraging party, leaving their escort behind, went on as far as two leagues from the camp, and straggled all over the country. The Tartars all on a sudden fell upon them, massacred 400 or 500 soldiers and camp-servants‡, took at least as many prisoners, and carried off above 2000 oxen and horses, without the covering party being able to hinder them.

This affair brought a severe penalty on the colonel

* The English edition has "a thousand."

† See above, note on page 120.

‡ "Goujats."

who commanded the covering party. His name wa Tutschef. The marshal having ordered a council of war, he was tried, condemned, and executed. The lieutenant-general, who had sent out the foraging party without notice to the marshal, and without having in person given his instructions to the colonel in command, was degraded, and reduced to the rank of a private dragoon; as was, also the brigadier of the day, the Prince Walache, of the house of Cantacuzenus, for not having been present at the place of arms when the detachment was sent out, [and likewise for not having given the colonel instructions]. The major, too, of the covering party was made a private dragoon; but, as he had not the command, this was only for some months, whereas the lieutenant-general and the brigadier were obliged to go through the whole of the following campaign in this capacity, and had not their pardon till peace was made.

Notwithstanding this unfortunate affair of the foragers, the general loss which the enemy occasioned to the Russians was anything but considerable. This campaign, however, did not cost them less in men than the preceding one, for there were a prodigious number of sick in the army, of whom a great part died; and even those who recovered were so reduced that they were in no condition to do the least service, nor were they thoroughly restored till after they had been some months in their winter-quarters. Never had the Russian army lost so many horses and oxen; and this went so far, that though they had taken with them some hundreds of supernumeraries of both kinds for reliefs in the service of the artillery, they had not, towards the end of the campaign, enough of them to draw it; and for want of this, they were obliged to bury in the deserts a great part of their bomb-shells and cannon-balls. A large quantity of them was also

left with the waggon train in Poland, which country the train of artillery, and a part of the army, had crossed. The forage in the steppe beginning to fall very short, from the Tartars having constantly set fire to the grass, the army was forced to march and encamp several days successively in a locality which had been burnt, without having fodder for the baggage cattle. This it was which obliged Munich to divide his army into several columns, keeping the rear-one with himself. By that means he greatly spared his resources.

Towards the end of September the whole army re-entered the Ukrain, and there went into winter-quarters. The marshal took up his at Kiev.

In the way to the Dniester the Russian army had passed over Polish territory, upon which the grand-general, count Pototski, sent to make a complaint on the subject to count Munich; but as the Turks had also crossed the same ground to come against him, he returned for answer, "that he knew perfectly well the regard due to a neutral country, and that he should not have set foot in it, had the enemy not shown him the way." The grand-general, not satisfied with this reply, made his complaints to the court of Petersburg, which gave him an answer much to the same purpose. But when on the return from the Dniester, a large part of the army was moved through Poland, the remonstrances against this grievance were more urgently made. The King of Poland himself, though he was on a footing of good understanding with the Empress of Russia, was obliged to order representations to be made by his minister, to which it was answered, that the enemy having marched that way, there was no just cause of complaint for the Russian army having done the same; that, however, if any disorders had been committed, or the least damage done, all should be made good.

The court of Vienna also made great complaints against the marshal, for not having executed the plan concerted before the opening of the campaign. According to this, he was to pass the Dniester, and take the town of Bender, or that of Choktzim; but he had met with so many difficulties, that it was impossible for him to carry out that project.

Munich easily justified himself to his own court, making it palpably appear, that he could not undertake the passage of the Dniester, nor the siege of either of those places, without totally ruining the army under his command; seeing that, besides having in that case to enter a country, where the forage had been entirely consumed by the enemy, the plague was at that time actually rife in Moldavia and Wallachia. But all these reasons had no weight at Vienna, where it was said that count Munich had been always disposed to thwart that court; that he had hindered the empress from sending thirty thousand foot to join the army of the emperor in Hungary; where if they had had those forces, they could have undertaken great things against the infidels; but that the marshal was only actuated by passion, and impelled by ambition; that satisfied with being at the head of a great army, he had done nothing with it, because he was dissatisfied with the court of Vienna; and that notwithstanding all his allegations, he might have undertaken more had he pleased. In short, the emperor urged the point so strongly, that a positive order was sent from Petersburg to Munich, to retrace his steps, and set about taking one of the two abovementioned places. This order he did not receive till he had already passed the river Bug, and divided his army for its return to the Ukrain. Upon this he held a council of war, in which the generals unanimously agreed with him in opinion, and demonstrated the impossibility of executing this order, even were the whole army to be

sacrificed to the attempt. The empress accepted their excuse, and permitted the return of the troops.

This was the second time that the court of Vienna had persuaded that of Petersburg to send Munich orders to renew the operations of the campaign; for the same thing had already happened the year before, when, after the reduction of Ockzakow, it was urged with all imaginable vehemence, that the Russians should go on and take Bender.

The conclusion of all these complaints was a reiterated demand upon the empress to send into Hungary for the year 1739, the 30,000 foot which had been so earnestly solicited for the preceding campaign. The court of Petersburg promised it; but Munich having, in the winter, arrived at court, found means so effectually to persuade the Duke of Courland and the empress that it would be against the interest of Russia to send its best regiments to Hungary, that the emperor did not obtain them this year any more than he had done in the preceding one.

While Munich was employed towards the Dniester, marshal Lacy, at the head of a second army, was resuming the march to the Crimea. His force was from 30,000 to 35,000 strong, including the Cossacks. On the 6th of July, he was with his army in sight of Perekop. The Khan, with 40,000 of his troops, was behind the lines, determined to make a better defence of the entrance into the Crimea than had been the case the preceding years. He had great confidence in the new lines, which the Tartars had constructed the year before. But Lacy disconcerted his projects, and entered the Crimea without the loss of a single man. In summer the heats dry up a part of the Sea of Azoph*, and a west-wind keeps the flood

* *i. e.*, the northern branch of the Siwasch. See above, page 108.

so back, that one may get into the Crimea almost dry-shod. As good luck would have it, on the 7th this wind began to blow, and the marshal lost not a moment in taking the benefit of it. He instantly drew up his army along the shore, in single line, and happily crossed the sea before the return of the flood. Some, indeed, of the carriages of the rear-guard, that could not follow quick enough, were lost, by the wind ceasing to blow shortly after the army had passed. They seized on a small fort, called Czivas-Coula. On the 8th the marshal marched towards Perekop, and sat down before it. The siege did not last beyond the 10th. The continual fire kept up against the place, and the quantity of shell thrown into it with great effect, obliged the Turkish commandant to capitulate. Lacy would not hear of his surrender except as prisoner of war; which, after several parleys, he accepted. The garrison, consisting of 2000 janissaries, under a Bashaw of two tails, came out of the place, and laid down their arms. Major-general Brigny the younger entered the place with two regiments of foot, and took the command of it. He found there to the number of 100 pieces of cannon, most of them brass, but no more than a small quantity of bread. After this expedition, Lacy advanced farther into the Crimea, which he found in a wretched condition, and almost a desert.

On July 20th, there was a very smart action between the Tartars and a part of Lacy's army. A body of near 20,000 men came on with such fury to attack the Cossacks of the Ukrain, who constituted the rearguard, that they routed them, and threw into confusion the Azoph regiment of dragoons that endeavoured to support them. Just at that juncture, lieutenant-general Spiegel came up with four regiments of dragoons and the Cossacks of the Don, to stop the runaways, and drive back the

enemy; and scarce had they time to recover themselves, before the Tartars attacked them afresh, with a great deal of impetuosity. The combat was long and stubborn; but the marshal having caused some regiments of foot, who had just entered the camp, to advance, the Tartars were at last obliged to retreat, leaving above 2000 * of their slain on the field of battle. On the side of the Russians, the loss was not above 600 or 700 men, including the Cossacks. General Spiegel was among the wounded, having received a sabre-cut in the face.

Marshal Lacy had it in his instructions to take Caffa, the strongest place in the Crimea, and a sea-port, in which the Turks keep their fleet; but he found the country everywhere so ruined, that it was with great difficulty the army could get subsistence. Besides this, the vice-admiral Bredal, who was to bring him provisions from Azoph in his fleet, met with a terrible storm, that disabled the greatest part of his vessels, and dispersed the rest: so that the marshal, after having made some marches onward, thought it best to bring his army back to near Perekop, of which he ordered the fortifications to be blown up, and a great part of the lines to be levelled.

In his camp here he remained till towards the end of August, when he resumed his march back to the Ukrain, where his troops went into winter-quarters, at the beginning of the month of October.

As to Ockzakow, the advices from that place during the whole year 1738 were extremely unsatisfactory. Care had indeed been taken to send recruits for completing the regiments in garrison at that place and at Kinburn; but hardly had they arrived there, when they died like rotten sheep; and, to increase the misfortune,

*. The English edition has "a thousand."

the plague got into both places, and made terrible havoc, to such an extent that general Stoffeln had not, for some days, men enough to do the duty of the day. And when, in the month of September 1739, he received orders to raze and abandon the two towns, he brought scarcely one-third of his men back to the Ukrain. The town of Ockzakow cost Russia near 20,000 men.

The army had no more rest in the winter of this year than in the preceding. Part of the troops were employed in breaking the ice of the Dnieper, and the remainder were fully occupied in their quarters with repairing the carriages of the baggage train, carrying out other arrangements necessary for the next campaign, and defending the frontier against the incursions of the Tartars. The latter attempted an invasion of the Ukrain, in the month of March 1739, and burned some villages. They were not able, however, to carry off any booty; for measures had been so well taken, that in a few hours several detachments succeeded in forming a junction, and moving on the point where the enemy showed himself. Several bodies of these robbers were not only beaten in the Ukrain, but were pursued into the steppe by the Cossacks, and some captured there. Having succeeded so ill in the Ukrain, and not liking to come back empty-handed, they sought for compensation in Poland, and, in spite of the treaties subsisting between them and the Poles, they destroyed a number of little towns and villages, and carried the inhabitants off to make slaves of them.*

The plague, which made great ravages in Moldavia and Wallachia, communicated itself also to the Ukrain, where the precautionary arrangements taken by Munich prevented this dreadful scourge from extending over the

* This paragraph is found only in the French edition.

whole province, but they could not, however, hinder several towns and villages from being depopulated by it.

In the month of November, there was a terrible execution in the Ukrain. The son of a peasant in that country had given himself out for the Czarewitz *, son of Peter I. deceased in the year 1718. He had come into village on the frontier, where he declared himself as such to three soldiers, who were on guard near the beacons set up along the boundary. These did homage to him, as did also the inhabitants of the village. The priest of it had the bells rung, and said a mass for the prosperity of the pretended prince. At length, the people of the village assembled, and perhaps the matter would have gone farther, if it had not been for a *Sotnich*, or Cossack captain, who, hearing of it, acquainted general Romanzow, then in quarters in the neighbourhood. The pretended prince and his adherents, who were not very numerous, were seized without trouble and conveyed to Petersburg, where they were put on their trial in the secret chancery; and after this sent back to the Ukrain. There the major-general Schipow had an order to see them executed. The self-made prince was impaled alive; the priest and the three soldiers were put to different kinds of death. The empress pardoned the peasants, but the village was razed to the ground, and the inhabitants were removed to other places.

Marshal Munich having returned from the court at the end of the month of March, issued orders for the regiments to hold themselves in readiness for marching at twenty-four hours' notice.

The general rendezvous of the army was at Kiev, in

* This was the prince Alexis Petrowitz, the son of Peter I. by his first wife Eudoxia Feodorowna, whom he divorced after forming a connexion with the celebrated Catherine. See above, note on page 4.

consequence of which a great part of the troops had a much longer way to go than in the preceding years, when they had assembled in the centre of their winter-quarters. The regiments that were on the rivers Don and Donetz, and near the lines of the Ukrain, had more than 200 leagues to march before they arrived. The 26th of April was the day settled for the general assemblage of the army, but for the reasons alleged, the more distant troops could not get there at the time.

The Dnieper had swelled, and overflowed the country for two leagues round; notwithstanding which obstacle, a bridge of boats was set about, and finished by the 8th of May.

The regiments that had been nearest passed first, and the others as fast as they arrived; but with all the diligence possible, the troops, with the artillery and the magazine waggons, could not be collected before the 4th of June, by which time the whole army was got on the other side of the river.

The army of count Munich consisted this year of 49 battalions of infantry, including three battalions of foot-guards; while 3 squadrons of horse-guards, 100 squadrons of dragoons, 6 squadrons of hussars, 6 squadrons of Wallachians, and 4 squadrons of Georgians, composed the cavalry. Besides this there were 13,000 Cossacks of all nations. The artillery consisted of 62 pieces of battering cannon, 11 mortars, 16 howitzers, and 176 field-pieces. There were 3000 cannoneers appointed to serve the artillery; in short, the army might amount to 60,000 or 65,000 men.

The generals that served under marshal Munich were, the general Romanzow, lieutenant-generals Charles Biron, Löwendal, and Gustavus Biron, and major-generals the prince of Holstein, Chroutzcheff, Philosophow, prince

Repnin, Bachmetew, Keyserling, Fermor, Schipow, Stockman, and Apraxin.

The court was resolved, notwithstanding the continual complaints of the Poles, to make the army take its march this year across their country; as this greatly shortened the way that must else have been pursued to arrive at the Dniester, and, besides, afforded the troops several conveniences with which they had been obliged to dispense in the preceding campaigns. And, indeed, it must be owned, that the army never suffered less, nor had fewer sick, than this year.

On June 7th, the army entered Poland near to Wasilikow, a small fortress on the frontier. The grand-general of Poland had ordered the nobility to take horse; and this noble militia dispersed in several directions, to prevent as much as possible the disorder of the light troops: but, notwithstanding all the care the Poles took to keep alongside of the Russians in their marches, they could not hinder a great many irregularities being committed.

The Russian army, for their greater convenience, marched in several columns, and, on the 10th of July, arrived at the river Bug, which it passed in three places; the first division at Constantinow, the second at Latizchew, and the third at Mentzibosh. These three places are situate within a space of five miles.*

Advice came, that the Turks, 60,000 strong, had passed the Dniester, and advanced into Poland, to dispute the passage of the Bug with the Russians, but that, finding these had got the start of them, they had marched back again after ravaging several villages.

To put the enemy on a wrong scent, and compel them

* These are apparently miles of Germany, 15 to a degree of latitude. The French edition has the term "milles," although in other cases either the "lieu;" or the "werst," is taken as the unit of measurement.

either to fruitless marches, or to keeping a great part of their army near Bender, a numerous detachment of Cossacks was sent on the side of Soroka*, with orders to give out by the way, that a part of the army would follow them in a few days. This false report induced the seraskier Vely Bashaw to stop, with the strength of his army, near fifteen days at Bender.

The party of Cossacks succeeded in swimming their horses over the Dniester, without being perceived by the enemy's troops, and having penetrated fifteen leagues into the country, they burnt a great number of villages, and the two towns of Soroka and Mohilew. On their return to the camp, they brought with them eighteen prisoners, and above 400 horses, of which a great part had been taken on the territory of Poland.

The army continued marching towards the Dniester till the 27th of July, having gone round the mountains called Nedoborschetz, and then turning down along the river Sbroutsch, on the side of Choktzim†, as if their design had been to force the passage of the Dniester, in the neighbourhood of that town.

A great body of the enemy's army had advanced towards the Sbroutsch, the sides of which are very steep, to dispute the passage. But the idea of the marshal was not to pass the Sbroutsch. He wanted to come upon the Dniester, and pass before the enemy could suspect

* This name is the same in both French and English editions; but it seems to arise from a mistake of handwriting for *Jeroka* or *Jaruka*.

† Choktzim (or Chotzim) lies on the right bank of the Dniester, just on the slope of the hill. Its position is such (says Tott) that the whole of the interior can be seen from the opposite shore. It could not be held for three days against a regular attack. (See note on p. 233.) The name is now usually spelt *Chotym* or *Kotjim*. The Zbroutsch, which takes its rise in Austrian Gallicia, falls into the Dniester a little above the town, having there a direction towards the S. E.

his design. He therefore put himself, on the 28th of July, at the head of a body of 20,000 picked troops, taking with him nothing but the field artillery, and ordering the soldiers to carry six days' bread with them. The siege train and the baggage remained in the camp with general Romanzow.

This body of troops marched that day and the next (the 29th), near twenty French leagues, and, towards the evening, arrived on the banks of the Dniester, at Sinkowtza, a small Polish village. They immediately set to work at the bridges; and as there was not a single enemy to oppose any resistance, these were finished by the 30th, at seven in the morning. Before night, the whole of the infantry, and the train of field-pieces, had passed over to the other side. The dragoons and Cossacks had got over the preceding day, by means of a ford they had discovered. The Turks, who were waiting for the Russians at the passage of the river Sbroutsch, knew nothing of this march, nor, till the 1st of August, of any part of the army having passed the Dniester. They immediately retreated to Choktzim, and passed the Dniester under the walls of that town.

Sinkowtza is not above six or seven leagues distant from Choktzim, but the way between those places is made difficult by impracticable mountains, which extend from the Dniester to the Pruth; so that the enemy had three or four days' march before them ere they could reach the Russians, there being no passage for an army but through the famous defile of Perekop. The Russians took advantage of this, and sent detachments on all sides, who penetrated into the country beyond the Pruth, and brought away with them near 100 prisoners, Turks and Wallachians, whom they had chanced to meet, and a few colours taken from small parties of the enemy, of whom they had

killed some, and dispersed the rest. The booty they made of horses and oxen was prodigious.

After the passage of the Dniester, there were several days of rain, which so swelled that river, that the violence of the stream carried away the bridges, and took them down with the force of the stream almost as low as Choktzim; however, they were recovered at last, and with a great deal of trouble brought up again to the *têtes de pont* which had been constructed on each of the two banks.

The same rains retarded the march of the army that was following with the heavy artillery, the baggage, and the stores; so that they could not arrive till the 7th of August upon the Dniester. The bridges over this, too, could not be at once got again into order: so, for some days, there was no communication between the two bodies, which obliged Munich to make some redoubts at the head of his camp.

August 3rd. The Sultan Islam Gherei, at the head of 12,000 Tartars, and Aali Kaltzchak Bashaw, governor of Choktzim, with 6000 *Serdengestis*, or mounted janissaries, who are called the janissaries *of no-quarter**, presented themselves in sight of the camp, and attacked the foragers of the Tobolsk regiment of dragoons, commanded by the colonel Roden. The colonel, who, with his whole regiment, served them for escort, threw his men into a square,

* The name *Serdinguetchti* is said to mean the same thing as the expression "enfans perdus" in the French army. The bearers of it were volunteers, and professed a resolution on all occasions to conquer or die. Tott, who made part of a Tartar expedition to which a body of them was attached, says that they never have the good or bad fortune to succeed in either alternative. He tells an amusing story of one cutting off the head of a dead Inat-Cossack, which he presented to the khan, forgetting, in his anxiety to obtain credit, that the victim was an ally.

and defended himself valiantly for more than an hour, till the picquets of the army came to his relief. The action was sharp; nor were the enemy repulsed till they had 600 of themselves killed upon the spot. A Tartar gentleman, called Ali Mirza, was taken prisoner. By his talk, he appeared to be a man of sense. As he was wounded in the leg, the surgeons told him it was impossible to make a cure without amputation. He made up his mind at once, and bore the operation with perfect firmness. The marshal caused great care to be taken of him; notwithstanding which, he died a little while after. The Russians had in this affair, 54 men killed, and 115 wounded. Among the first was a Saxon lieutenant-colonel, called Kiessling, whom the King of Poland had sent to the Russian army to make the campaign with it.

On August 10th, there was heard the firing of the cannon of Choktzim for the arrival of the seraskier Vely Bashaw, who had at length got there from Bender with the Turkish army, which he commanded in chief.

On the 11th, the Tartars made a fresh attempt. Fifteen hundred of their picked horsemen stole silently into the neighbourhood of the camp; but a party of the Cossacks of the Don, and a detachment of hussars, who were concealed in a bottom, gave them so warm a reception, that they not only repulsed them with the utmost vigour, pursuing them as far as the Pruth, (in which several Tartars were drowned), but even killed a great number of them, and took sixteen prisoners.

It was the 15th of August before the rest of the artillery and stores passed the Dniester; upon which the bridges were removed.

Since the time when the first body of the Russians crossed the river, there was hardly a day without some Wallachian and Moldavian officers coming with troops to

the camp to make their submission, and engage in the service of the empress of Russia.

The marshal had, with the approbation of the court, formed a regiment of Wallachians before the opening of the campaign. A prince Cantemir, who had quitted Moldavia towards the end of the year 1736, had the command of it; and all the Moldavians who came in were placed in that regiment. This was a near relation of the prince Cantemir, hospodar of Moldavia, who followed Peter I. into Russia when he made the unfortunate campaign of 1711 in Moldavia.

This prince, on his way from Moldavia to Russia, had passed by Broda, the residence of count Potosky, the grand-general of Poland, who was his relation, to whom he unbosomed himself upon his intention of going to Kiev in order to enter the Russian service. The count, who was by no means in the interest of Russia, had him seized and thrown into a dungeon, writing at the same time to Constantinople to acquaint the Turks of his being in his power, and that he was ready to deliver him into their hands. The prince, sensible of the danger that threatened him (for if he had been delivered to the Turks he would have infallibly been flayed alive), found means to procure a man to carry a letter from himself to the commandant of Kiev, containing the particulars of what had befallen him. General Keith, who happened to be in that place, sent without a moment's delay an officer to the grand-general to demand the prince of him. He at first denied having him; but on the repeated demands and threats of the court of Petersburg, he at length set him at liberty, and had him escorted to the frontiers of the Ukrain. This prince not having it in his power to be revenged on the grand-general in person, vented his rage upon his subjects; for having been detached

with his regiment to penetrate farther into Moldavia, he instead of so doing repassed the Dniester, and, entering Poland, ravaged the lands of the grand-general and put everything to fire and sword, without sparing sex or age; in short, he committed unheard of cruelties, and could he have got hold of count Potosky, there is no doubt he would have made him undergo the same punishment to which the other had meant to expose him, in offering to deliver him up to the Turks.

These doings made a great noise in Poland. The grand-general complained, but Cantemir denied the fact, in the teeth of all the evidence; and as there were a number of Wallachians serving in the Turkish army, it was to them that all the excesses were imputed. This did not, however, hinder the empress from being obliged, after the peace, to pay considerable sums to the Poles for the disorders of her troops in Poland.

On the 16th the army got under march, and, after advancing four French leagues, encamped with its right wing upon the Pruth and its left on the small river of Waletzka. On the 17th it passed this river, and entered among the mountains into the famous defiles of Perekop [or passes of Tschernantza], where the king of Poland, John Sobieski, had fought several battles with the Tartars and inhabitants of the country. A Wallachian deserter brought word that the enemy had abandoned the most important pass, where 10,000 men might stop an army of 100,000. The marshal immediately sent a strong detachment to seize this post.

On the 18th the army gained the heights, and thence got into the plain, covered with a not very thick wood*, where it encamped, with the right still resting on the Pruth and

* "D'un bois clair."

the left on the mountains. The whole army in short passed the defiles with ease, except a detachment for covering the artillery, baggage, and stores, which could not make their way through them without a great deal of trouble. The last carriages were not got clear through till the 26th.

There is no astonishment too great for the blunder which the Turks committed in abandoning those passes, where they might have destroyed the whole Russian army, almost without fighting. Nor was the good fortune of Munich less astonishing,—a man with whom every enterprise, even the most difficult and hazardous, succeeded, if he did but wish it.

The enemy did not show themselves for the whole day except in small parties, which exchanged pistol shots with the Cossacks. Towards the evening, as they retreated, it was perceived that they had concealed a large body of men in the valleys, with a view to draw our light troops into an ambuscade; but the device failed.

On the 19th the Kaltzchak Bashaw and the Sultan of Bielogorod, at the head of about 20,000 men, approached the camp, sending parties on to skirmish with the Cossacks; but after having lost some men by the artillery, they retreated into their camp, which was separated from the Russians by the little river Houka and its defiles. In the night the marshal made his dispositions for attacking the enemy.

On the 20th, very early in the morning, the army moved out of camp, leaving behind the small quantity of baggage that had come up to them; for the main part was still engaged in the gorges of Perekop. It defiled by its left, in column of battalions*, and passed into the plain with-

* "Sur la largeur d'un bataillon de front."

out any opposition. The enemy burnt several villages in their front, and retreated without so much as making any show of resistance, leaving the Russians at full liberty to pass the Houka. Accordingly, the army took possession of the camp which the enemy had occupied the day before; while that of the Turks, dispersed in different directions, was three or four leagues off the Russians.

During the 21st the enemy continued to skirmish with light troops; but on the 22nd they attacked the hussars and Wallachians more earnestly; but these were succoured in good time, so that the enemy was obliged to retreat, with some loss.

August 23rd and 24th: the army did nothing more than shift camps, being obliged to wait for the artillery and heavy baggage. The enemy had posts all round the Russians, at 500 paces distance; there was no safety before the front or behind the rear, so that it was requisite to have strong escorts in order to go and come from the camp to the baggage train. Major-general Stockman, who did not apprehend the danger to be so great as was said, wishing to acquaint the marshal with something relative to the progress of the baggage, set out accompanied only by two Zaporavian Cossacks. Scarce had he entered a small wood, which he was obliged to pass, when he saw himself surrounded by the enemy. He at first resisted; but, having been wounded, was forced to surrender. He was carried to Choktzim, whence the Russians delivered him when they took that place. Great was the joy in the Turkish camp when he was brought into it, he being the only officer of note that they took from the Russians in the whole course of the war.

The marshal received advice that the enemy had occupied, at three leagues distance, a very advantageous position, on a rising ground, where they were still at work

on the entrenchments, and waiting the approach of the Russians to give them battle. On the 26th the heavy baggage, artillery, and stores at last reached the camp. Nearly 20,000 men had remained behind to cover this enormous quantity of vehicles; and, being compelled to wait for these, the marshal necessarily gave the enemy full time to fortify his camp.* At break of day on the 27th the army got under march, and, passing several small rivers and defiles, approached the Turkish camp to within cannon-shot. There the Russians found themselves entirely surrounded by the enemy. The seraskier, Vely Bashaw, commander-in-chief of their army, was upon an eminence, in an intrenched camp, and defended by several batteries. The Kaltzchak Bashaw, governor of Choktzim, with the Serdingestis, was encamped on the left, with his rear supported by forests and impracticable mountains. Jentzch Ali Bashaw, who commanded the Turkish cavalry or spahis, was on the right, resting on the hills which extend to the river Pruth; while the Sultan Islam Gherei of Bielogorod, with all the Tartar hordes, kept harassing their rear. The enemy attacked them on all sides without allowing them a moment's breathing time from morning to evening; and even gave them an alarm in the night; but as the Russian camp formed three squares, well provided everywhere with *chevaux-de-frise* and artillery, they were repulsed on all points: however, as there was no possibility of sending out to forage, nor other means of giving fodder to the cattle of the army, it was necessary to get out of this embarrassment, cost what it would.

The generals of the Ottoman army, seeing the Russians so finely in the toils, were now applauding themselves

* This sentence is found only in the French edition.

for not having thrown more obstacles in their way at the pass of Perekop, imagining that they would not be able to redeem this false step but by surrendering themselves prisoners of war, or by capitulation.

On August 28th, at break of day, the whole Russian army got under arms. The marshal, making a feint of wishing to attack the fortified camp of the enemy, caused to advance within half cannon-shot, the three battalions of foot-guards, three regiments of infantry, two of dragoons, 400 men from the picquets, and some light troops; the whole commanded by the lieutenant-generals Loewendal and Gustavus Biron, with 30 pieces of battering cannon and 4 mortars. The cannonade and bombardment was incessant on both sides till noon, but without great effect, especially on the part of the Turks, who killed but one single horse of the Russians, after having fired above 100 rounds.

This movement had been made only to draw the whole attention of the enemy to that side, and to hinder them from perfecting their lines on the left, which they had but just begun. It had all the success that could be wished; for they immediately mounted two more batteries on their right, and began to work at a new line. In the meantime, the marshal, who had already the day before reconnoitred the enemy's camp, went to reconnoitre it again, and found that the river Schoulanetz, which ran on the left of the enemy, and which had been assumed as impracticable on account of the marshes on both sides, was far from being so; and that, by strewing those marshes with the fascines, of which they had plenty in the carriages, they, as well as the river, which was not deep, would be easily passed; so that by this means they might turn the camp of the enemy, who, not having imagined it possible to attack them on that side, had entirely neglected to fortify it.

At noon the marshal ordered the army to march by its right, recalling Loewendal and Biron's detachment to their places in his line. Several bridges were presently thrown over the little river Schoulanetz, the marshes were heaped with fascines, and thick planks laid over them; and the army passed under cover of a terrible fire from their artillery, without any obstacle from the enemy. At two in the afternoon, the Russians had arrived at the foot of the hill, which the Turkish camp crowned. Then the Turkish cavalry attacked them on all sides, but it was repulsed on every point without being able to get any the least advantage. The Russians kept gaining ground, and approaching nearer and nearer to the enemy's camp. At five o'clock in the evening, the enemy returned to the attack with more fury than ever. The janissaries, sabre in hand, advanced resolutely and charged the guards and infantry; but such a terrible fire was kept up on them, both from the cannon and small arms, that though they penetrated as far as the *chevaux-de-frise*, they could do nothing. After having made incredible efforts to break the Russian ranks, they were at length obliged to retreat, which they did in confusion. The Turks, still intending to defend their camp, caused some cannon to be transported to their left wing; but the Russians nevertheless advanced without a check, sustained by the terrific fire of their artillery; and soon afterwards the Turks set fire to their own camp, and betook themselves to flight with such precipitation, that when, at seven o'clock in the evening, the Russians, having carried the heights, entered it, they found no one remaining in it. The light troops, who went in pursuit of the fugitives, could with difficulty overtake a few, whom they massacred.

The Turks had left behind, partly in the camp,

partly on the road, 42 pieces of brass cannon, and 6 mortars. In the camp there were found above 1000 tents still standing, besides an infinite quantity of tools, baggage, munitions of war, and provisions. The loss of the enemy must have been considerable; near 1000 remained on the field. On the side of the Russians, there were but 70 men in all killed and wounded.

Never was so complete a victory obtained with so little loss. It is also to be observed that the Russians fought in this battle with all their baggage and stores within the squares, in the midst of their army, so that they had not their movements free, and at best could make them but slowly.

This action was fought near a small village called Stayoutschane, which was at the right of the army.

In order to take advantage of the victory, the marshal marched directly the next morning towards Choktzim, at the head of a body of 30,000 men and of the battering train. The general Romanzow was left behind, to cover the baggage and stores, that were to follow by easier marches. As the troops advanced on their way to Choktzim, they found cannon, mortars, bomb-shells, cannon-balls, barrels of powder, baggage-waggons, dispersed here and there,—evidencing in this general rout the effect of a panic terror. The army pushed on that day to within two leagues of Choktzim.

Early in the morning of August 30th a strong detachment of light troops was sent to observe the posture of the enemy, and found that the suburb, although intrenched and surrounded with a wide ditch, was abandoned. With this they acquainted the marshal, who was advancing with his army, and arrived at ten in the morning before the place. He instantly sent the governor a summons to surrender.

From some prisoners taken by surprise in the suburb, it

was learnt that Kaltzchak Bashaw, governor of Choktzim, had got into the place the very evening of the battle, but could not prevail on his garrison, which at the beginning of the campaign was 10,000 strong, to stand by him. Almost all the janissaries had followed Vely Bashaw in his flight, so that there remained but few troops with the governor.

The bashaw demanded an honourable capitulation, and to be escorted to the Danube; but his surrender on any terms than as prisoner of war was refused. At the same time the marshal moved on, through the suburb in question as far as to the glacis, three battalions of guards and three other battalions of foot. However, after some parley, he granted the article, that there should be no examination of the baggage-waggons of the garrison, and that the Turks might send away their wives home. None but the bashaw sent his there; all the rest kept theirs, and took them with them into Russia.

At two in the afternoon the bashaw and the garrison surrendered. The commandant of the place, and the Aga of the janissaries, presented the keys of the town to the marshal. The guards took possession of the gates; after which the bashaw, with a numerous retinue, waited on the marshal, who was in a house in the suburb, and delivered up his sabre to him. On the 31st the Turkish garrison, 763 men strong, evacuated the place, and laid down their arms and colours. The Russian garrison at the same time entered the town. Major-general Chroutscheff had the command of it in chief, and under him Prince Dadian, colonel of the artillery.

Choktzim is one of the strongest places in the Turkish dominions *; all the works are well faced and partly cut

* See the note on page 221. The remarks of Manstein, who entered the town from the south, perhaps refer to the works by which it was

into the rock; those which are on the side of Moldavia are kept in better repair than the part towards Poland, that being the side on which it cannot be attacked, since the Dniester runs nearly under its walls. Most of its works, as also the covered way, are mined. There were 157 pieces of cannon in the fortress and 22 mortars, all of them of brass and mounted; the munitions were infinite, and the magazines full of provisions.

Kaltzchak Bashaw said that all the misfortunes which had befallen the Turks in this campaign were solely owing to the bad measures taken by their commander-in-chief, the seraskier Vely Bashaw, who had loitered too long with a great part of his army under Bender, and not followed his advice, which had been to dispute the passage of the defiles of Perekop. Vely Bashaw was for letting the Russians pass, in the hope of ruining them without coming to a battle, by depriving them of the means of forage, and continually harassing them. This project would not have been bad, if he had had other troops under his command than Turks and Tartars, and another general opposed to him than count Munich. The Bashaw added that he had been astonished at the quickness of the Russian fire, especially at that of the artillery, which had on all occasions made the greatest havoc among their troops.

September 1st: two bridges were thrown over the Dniester, to establish a free communication with Poland. The next day lieutenant-general Gustavus Biron was ordered by the marshal to take back with him to the Ukrain the three battalions of guards and some regiments of dragoons. The prisoners were sent off at the same time under this escort, in number 2121 persons of both sexes.

After the marshal had sent off this detachment, and had

defended, those of Tott, who came from the other side, to its unfavourable locality.

regulated everything relative to the garrison of Choktzim, he resumed his march with the army on the 4th, to penetrate farther into Moldavia. On the 8th he arrived on the river Pruth, when there were immediately three bridges ordered, and finished by the evening. Prince Cantemir, who had been detached with his Wallachians, brought advice that he had penetrated into the heart of the country, without meeting with any resistance on the part of the enemy. On the 9th and 10th the whole army passed the Pruth, and the foraging parties brought a prodigious number of cattle into camp.* The river happened to be so low that the whole cavalry forded it. Otherwise the Pruth is deep and rapid. It was fifty fathom broad in the place where the Russians crossed it. Munich constructed on the bank a *tête-de-pont*, and a fort, to which was given the name of Fort St. John. There were also redoubts thrown up at proper distances, the better to keep up the communication with Choktzim.

On the 11th the army marched towards Jassy, the capital of Moldavia and residence of the hospodar. A party of the enemy showing themselves at a distance, the Cossacks gave chase to them, but could not come up with them. The States of Moldavia, which had assembled at Jassy, sent deputies to the marshal, with a letter containing an act of submission. The hospodar, Gregorius Jika, had fled the day before in the direction of the Danube. On the 12th the deputies were sent back with an answer, assuring the states of the protection of the empress. The army continued its march towards Jassy, which Prince Cantemir had entered with 3000 men, dragoons, hussars, and Wallachians. News came that the seraskier Vely Bashaw had been obliged to hide him-

* The last clause is only found in the French edition.

self for two days, in a small village near the Pruth, called Bogdan, having no one with him but 14 menial servants; and this to escape the fury of the janissaries, who wanted to massacre him; also that, except 3000 men, who had entered Bender, all the rest were gone over the Danube.

On the 14th the marshal went to Jassy, under an escort of 300 mounted grenadiers and 300 Cossacks of the Don, to make the needful regulations, in conjunction with the states of the country, for the subsistance of the army. There he made a stipulation with them, by which they engaged for the maintenance of 20,000 of the Russian army; to find them in quarters, victuals, and forage; to furnish, at their own expense, all the carriages necessary for the transport of provisions within the circuit of the duchy; and to maintain from 2000 to 3000 prisoners to work at the fortifications of Jassy. After everything was settled, the marshal surveyed the site of the place, and the engineers traced out the lines of the works. Three regiments of foot, one regiment of hussars, and the corps of Wallachians, were put into garrison there; and major-general Schipow and colonel Karkettel had the command of it.

On the 21st the marshal returned to the army, which had repassed the Pruth. His design was, before the end of the campaign to enter the country of the Tartars of Budziack, and even to take Bender, which was very possible, considering the consternation in which the Turks were after their defeat. He flattered himself, that if the war should last one year longer, he would pass the Danube, and penetrate into the heart of the states of the Grand Seignior; but all these projects were disconcerted by the peace.

The imperialists had signed it, on their part, under Bel-

grade [in the Turkish camp]. Munich had intelligence of it on the 24th of September, and was furious with the generals of the emperor. He wrote on this subject to Prince Lobkowitz, who commanded in Transylvania, and from whom he got the news of this shameful transaction. As this letter contains several remarks on the conduct of the imperialists, and many other particulars, and is besides very original in its character, I subjoin a translation of the German original.

Letter of Marshal Munich to Prince Lobkowitz, Sept. 27th, 1739.

SIR,

"I had the honour to receive your letter, together with the journal of operations up to the first of the current month, at the time when we were employed in celebrating a thanksgiving festival for the happy conquest of Moldavia, of which the States, spiritual and temporal, did, on the 16th, make their submission to the empress, my most gracious sovereign.

"I enclose the continuation of my own journal, by which your highness will see more at large, that after the taking of Choktzim, and the total defeat and precipitate flight of the enemy, (whose camp we took, with its field-artillery, consisting of forty-two cannon and six mortars,) I advanced farther into Moldavia with the army which I have the honour of commanding. Having passed the Pruth on the 9th and 10th of this month, I constructed a redoubt, called Fort St. John, which I provided with a good garrison and sufficient artillery. Next I drove out the hospodar, with his militia and some hundreds of Turks, who were at Jassy, his place of residence, of which I took possession on the 14th of this month. The fortifications I caused to be repaired, and left a strong garrison in it, with the necessary artillery. The retreat of the hospodar was so precipitate that he left us all his horse-tails, his two head-standards, the horse-tail of a Turkish bashaw, who was with him at the time, and more than thirty other colours belonging to the Turks and Moldavians, his kettle-

drums, all his field-music, besides three cannons, twelve barrels of powder, and 1500 barrels of corn, with a great quantity of rice.

"In the midst of this success, it is impossible to conceal that the contents of your letter and journal have extremely surprised, and even afflicted me. I have been astonished to observe, that the irruption which the body of troops under your highness was to make into the enemy's country will not be executed, and consequently that not the least movement will be made on the side of Wallachia in favour of our army, notwithstanding all the solemn promises of the emperor, and the plan of operations agreed upon with the empress my sovereign.

"Your highness's letter abundantly testifies that these circumstances, which you did not expect, give little less pain to you than to me. On the perusal of your journal it is obvious, that everything was in good condition in the imperial army up to the 13th of August, and in fact at Belgrade also, where, according to the advices I received thence there was a garrison numerous enough to have still made a long resistance against the Turks, and even to have compelled them to raise the siege with loss; especially had the determination been come to of making vigorous sallies supported by the imperial army, the bravery of which is acknowledged. Certain it is that we had flattered ourselves here with this hope; as we had beaten the enemy, taken Choktzim, captured the garrison with the governor, a bashaw of three tails, and were, in fine, advancing with great strides towards the Danube;—events calculated to lower the arrogance of the proud Turks before Belgrade.

"The generals of the imperial army were perfectly well apprised that the Russian army having successfully passed the Dniester and repulsed the Turks in the action of the 22nd of July, designed to march straight for the enemy and advance upon Choktzim,—an enterprise of which it might have been well for them to wait the issue, without hurrying to a conclusion. But no. Instead of doing what prudence seemed to dictate, it appears by the journal you sent me that advice was received from Monsieur de Neuperg, grand-master of the imperial

ordnance, who had already been for some time in the Turkish camp, of preliminary articles having been signed on the 1st of September, on the part of the Porte.

"And although neither in your letter nor in the journal annexed, there is any mention made of the conditions stipulated by these preliminaries,— an omission at which I was the more surprised, as I could never have imagined there would have been such a want of regard for the empress my sovereign, as to leave me in the dark upon the points which concern her majesty, by which I was nevertheless to regulate my operations for the rest of the campaign, — yet I have learnt, through other channels, that the conditions of the said preliminaries are extremely disadvantageous, and altogether contrary to the honour and the interests of both the august imperial houses.

"For, first, if the fortress of Belgrade is to be razed at the expense of the emperor, and even by the hands of the imperial army, can there be a condition more prejudicial to the glory of the imperial arms?

"Secondly, if, instead of preserving that place, and causing Orsowa to be demolished, as had been agreed, the first is ceded to the Turks and the other suffered to remain in their hands, in a very good state, does not this throw down every obstacle to their entering, as often as ever they please to break the peace, into the Bannat, Transylvania, and the other hereditary possessions of the empire? Thence how very easy it is for them to penetrate to Vienna! Such a condition, then, cannot but be extremely burdensome to the emperor and to the whole empire.

"Thirdly, if it be true that the kingdom of Servia and imperial Wallachia are ceded to the enemy, at a time when the arms of the emperor's faithful allies are everywhere victorious, nothing can, it seems to me, be more contrary to the interests of the two imperial houses. Certainly, a more disadvantageous peace could not have been concluded, even if the enemy had actually taken Belgrade, and beaten the imperial army.

"In the meanwhile, what is become of that sacred alliance

that was to be maintained between the two courts? On the part of the Russians fortresses are taken from the common enemy, on the part of the imperialists they are demolished or given up to him. The Russians acquire provinces, the imperialists give up whole kingdoms to the enemy. The Russians drive him to extremities, the imperialists grant him all that he wishes, all that is capable of flattering and of increasing his pride. On the part of the Russians the war is continued, on the part of the emperor an armistice is agreed on, a peace concluded. I ask, what is become of that indissoluble alliance? I dare assure you, sir, that if the army of the emperor had been at the last extremity, the court of Vienna would have infallibly obtained, with the assistance of the empress my sovereign, a peace more honourable than that which has just been made.

"If a retrospect of the past be permitted, it may be observed of the empress my sovereign,

"That, first, her majesty, singly and alone, terminated the war of Poland against Stanislaus and the confederate Poles; in spite of France and Sweden, who spared neither money nor cabals to place Stanislaus on the throne from which we drove him; and in his stead placed Augustus, Elector of Saxony.

"Secondly, her majesty sent an auxiliary body of 10,000 foot as far as the Rhine, to the imperial army, and another body was ready to march thither, in case of need,—dispositions these which greatly contributed to the last peace concluded with France.

"Thirdly, her majesty, early and alone, undertook the present war against the Turks, leaving to the emperor the option of furnishing the stipulated succours or of taking part in the war.

"Fourthly, her majesty's army took the forts of Azopli and of Lutick, laid waste the Kuban, and reduced the Tartar inhabitants of that province.

"Fifthly, her majesty's armies reduced Perekop, a fort which had been always reputed impregnable; they made the Turkish garrison there prisoners two different times; they took a numerous artillery from them, penetrated as far as

Koslov, Karasu-Bazar, Bachtschi-Serâi, and into the very heart of the Crimea, ruining and destroying the whole country; they have entirely dispersed the Nogay Tartars between the Crimea and Dnieper, taking from them an innumerable quantity of horned cattle and horses.

"Sixthly, The forts of Ockzakow and Kinburn have been likewise taken by her majesty's troops; and the first of these afterwards effectually defended against the Turks, who strove to retake it. It may be calculated, that in all these operations, there have altogether perished from 40,000 to 45,000* of the enemy; and a numerous artillery has likewise fallen into our hands.

"Seventhly, the Russian fleet has, for four campaigns, held in play that of the Turks commanded by the Capitan Bashaw, which infested the Sea of Azoph and the Black Sea.

"Eighthly, the court of Petersburg has, at the expense of immense sums, frustrated all the cabals of Sweden and Poland, which were on the point of breaking out into a dangerous conspiracy; and, finally, its troops have beaten the enemy, taken the town of Choktzim, and totally subjugated Moldavia.

"In order to be brief, I shall not allege here all the motives which might have induced the court of Vienna to persevere in its resolution; I shall only say, that it might have safely relied on an ally so faithful, so great, and so fortunate, as my most gracious sovereign undoubtedly is; and not, contrary to all expectation, and without the excuse of any imminent danger, have made a peace so shameful and so very detrimental to the interests of both courts. Besides, the whole world knows, (and how many examples have we not of it?) that the Turks are frequently liable to surprises by sudden panic-terrors; and are often obliged, by the mutinies of the janissaries, to betake themselves to flight, at the very time that they are thought the strongest. The same thing might have been hoped, had there been a vigorous defence of Belgrade. The garrison had a secure retreat, and a strong fortress

* The French edition has "more than 50,000."

behind it: there was nothing to be lost, nor even risked, by defending that place to the last extremity.

"Never will any credit be given to the specious pretext under which an attempt is made to persuade the world, that the court of Vienna had to bear the greatest burthen of the war.

"We have an authentic list of the troops routed at Stavoutschane, which we got from the Hospodar's private secretary, [by name Alexander Ducas]. This list makes it manifestly appear, that the army of Turks and Tartars, which acted against us, and was commanded by so many bashaws, was considerably more numerous than that before Belgrade. It is the Russian army which hindered the Turks from entering Transylvania: it is the Russian army that can, from actual experience, testify to the Tartars, especially the Nogays, being better soldiers than the Spahis which compose the Turkish cavalry. When we add to these numerous enemies, who were all picked men, the garrisons of Bender, Bielogorod, and Yenikalè, with the Turkish fleet, on board of which there were in this campaign above 30,000 fighting men; it may easily be judged, on which of the two sides the enemy has been, during this war, the most numerous and the most formidable, and which of the two allies has borne the greatest weight.

"To provide two different armies with artillery and stores for a whole campaign; to convey the provisions and ammunition for them the distance of more than 200 leagues in our own carriages, is unquestionably a burthen which the imperial army never felt; as to ours, it requires more than 200,000 horses, oxen, and camels, none of which are at the end of a campaign in any condition for service in the following one. My sovereign has also been obliged to cause two flotillas to act, the one on the Don, and the other on the Dnieper, upon the preparation of which there were employed every year as many as 50,000 men.

"But what the most fatigued our troops was, that even after having undergone the severest fatigues during the campaigns, they were obliged to form a chain of above 300 German miles upon our frontiers, to hinder the irruptions which the Tartars annually make. I assure you, sir, that

there is not an army in Europe, except the Russian one, able to endure such fatigues. But your highness, and all the world at the same time, will readily judge, that all this must have occasioned most extraordinary expense to her imperial majesty, who had no other source to draw on than her own treasury.

"As to any thing farther, I cheerfully grant to the imperialists the honour of having had the Grand Vizier opposed to them. He had, doubtless, his reasons for preferring to remain on the banks of the Danube. He probably thought it less easy to penetrate to Kiev than to Belgrade and Orsowa. At any rate, we would have spared him half of the way, if he had been pleased to give us the preference and measure himself with us.

"We detest a shameful peace. The Turks made advances to us; they offered us even advantageous conditions; but the empress my sovereign would not hear a word. As things are, peace is concluded between the emperor and the Turks. As to the court of Petersburg, I find a profound silence observed about it, both in your highness's letter and the journal thereto annexed.

"I am not ignorant of the Marquis of Villeneuve, the French ambassador at Constantinople, having limited instructions, in pursuance of which he may make peace with the Porte. If it is not to be granted to us upon favourable conditions, and an equivalent to be given for Choktzim and Moldavia, I will, under the favour of God, continue hostilities.

"I have the honour to entreat your highness to convey my answer and this journal to marshal count Wallis; and am, &c.

MUNICH."

Some days before Munich had learnt the news of the peace, he had detached the brigadier Froloff, who commanded the Cossacks of the Don, with all the troops under him, which might amount to 4000 or 5000, with orders to make an irruption as far as the Danube, and lay

waste all the enemy's country in his way. The brigadier had been successful enough in his march as far as the river; but, on his return, he had advice that a great body of Turks and Tartars was marching against him, and that by another his junction with marshal Munich's army was irretrievably cut off. He had then no alternative but to take refuge in Transylvania, and crossing this province and Poland, to return to the army, or into Russia, according to circumstances. The alliance between the courts of Petersburg and Vienna made him entertain no doubt of being well received by prince Lobkowitz. When therefore he found himself near the frontiers of Transylvania, he sent a notification of his arrival to the prince, and of the reasons that obliged him to take the course he did. Instead, however, of a friendly reception, there were at first great difficulties made of letting him enter the country; nor was it till after a great deal of discussion that the passage was at length granted him; and even then they treated him and his troops as if they had been prisoners. Three regiments of hussars and two of cuirassiers, surrounded the detachments of Froloff and served them for escort into Poland. Nothing was furnished them; they were forced to pay for every thing in ready money and at an exorbitant price; they were not allowed so much as to graze their horses, or to send out foraging for them; and what was worst of all, if a Cossack happened to straggle a hundred paces or so from the main body, he was unmercifully massacred by the Austrian hussars, for the sake of his horse and arms. For the horses of the Cossacks of the Don are remarkably good, all their muskets are rifled and inlaid *, and their sabres extremely well tempered.

* "Rayés et damasquinés."

Brigadier Froloff lost, in this manner, near 200 men, by the hands of the *good friends and allies* of Russia; scarce had he lost so many in the whole campaign, in spite of the frequent skirmishes he had had with the enemy. It may be easily imagined, that the court of Petersburg made great complaints of these unusual proceedings; but it had no other satisfaction than excuses from the court of Vienna.

Count Munich continued to make some marches towards the Budziack; but as he knew there were measures taking for concluding a peace between Russia and the Porte, and as the weather began to be cold, he resolved to put his troops into quarters of cantonment in Moldavia, a country which he had no sort of inclination to quit; and, according to the arrangement he had planned of the winter-quarters, a part of the army was to take up theirs in Poland.

It may now be proper to mention what were the steps taken by the court of Russia towards effecting a peace. In the first place, the court had given to marshal Munich, on his opening the campaign, a full power to conclude peace, in case of his finding a favourable opportunity for it; they had even given him a private secretary to be employed by him in any overture of negotiation.

Both the courts of Petersburg and Vienna had accepted the mediation of France between themselves and the Porte. The empress in consequence entrusted this negotiation to the Marquis de Villeneuve, [the French minister,] and sent a counsellor of the chancery, M. de Cagnoni, to manage her interests jointly with him. Every thing passed under the name of the ambassador of France, but, properly speaking, it was M. de Cagnoni who had the confidence of the Russian court, and the full powers to conclude the peace. He was actually in the Turkish

camp when M. de Neuperg signed in the name of the emperor, and protested against the whole procedure, but in vain. Things were too far advanced before he was made acquainted with them. At length, it became a necessity to yield to the force of the conjuncture; and the signature of the preliminaries between Russia and the Porte took place, a month after the same proceeding on the part of the emperor.

Towards the end of the month of October, marshal Munich had orders to cease from hostilities. Jassy was abandoned, and Choktzim restored to the Turks in the same condition as when it had been taken from them. It was also stipulated by the peace, that Azoph should remain with the Russians, but that the outworks should be demolished, and nothing left but the town within the precinct, without any garrison or any fortification. It was likewise allowed to the Russians, to extend their frontiers twenty German miles into the steppe, and keep Samara, &c.* The Turks were not to fortify on this side of the river Kuban; but as to Ockzakow, they might take possession of it again as well as of Kinburn, and put both places into a state of defence. The prisoners on both sides were to be released without ransom. In short, all the advantage Russia gained by this war was very trifling, in comparison of the immense sums it cost her, and of the loss of more than 100,000 subjects in it.

The army repassed the Dniester, and returned into the Ukrain. Choktzim was not restored to the Turks till the month of November, when M. de Löwendal delivered it up to the bashaw who was sent to receive it.

* The reference is probably to the entrenchments which Munich made during the campaign of 1736, at Samara, Kizikjermen, and some other favourable localities. See p. 141. and the note there.

When the Russian troops repassed the Dniester, this river was already bringing down great pieces of ice, and there was no possibility of refitting the bridges that had been broken by the floating masses; so that there occurred great difficulties in the passing of the troops, and yet more in the getting the stores and the artillery over. But as the bottom of the river was firm, Löwendal caused the guns and their carriages to be drawn under the ice by means of strong ropes, long enough to reach from one side of the river to the other, in which way the cannon were hauled over by heaving on capstans.

This campaign is unquestionably the most glorious and the most fortunate that the Russian arms had to boast during the war. It was well it was so: for had the contrary happened, and count Munich's army been beaten, the empire of Russia would have been in a very sad condition. The whole of that army would have perished without fail; those who had not fallen by the sword of the Turks would have been massacred by the Poles, who had assembled in several bodies, and as they had never loved their Russian neighbours, they wished them worse than they did the Turks and Tartars, and most certainly would not have failed to commence hostilities if the Russians had met with any considerable check. So long as the army marched on Polish territory no deputations were seen in the camp, but except to make grievous complaints of the injuries committed on the property of the inhabitants; but, as soon as the Russians had beaten the enemy, and taken Choktzim, the Poles changed their tone, and sent solemn deputations to marshal Munich to congratulate him, declaring themselves to be the very best friends and allies of Russia.*

* See below, p. 253.

Sweden likewise was extremely dissatisfied with the court of Petersburg, and, for some years past, had been waiting for nothing but a fair occasion to attack it. Already, in the last disturbances in Poland, several Swedish officers, as I before observed, had obtained permission to go and serve king Stanislaus at Dantzig against the Russians. These having been made prisoners at the surrender of that town, the empress sent them back to Sweden; not, however, without showing some signs of discontent at the procedure. A new treaty of alliance was, nevertheless, concluded in 1735, and everything appeared made up. But so soon as the Russians had declared war against the Turks, the Swedes were on the alert again, and in 1737, and still more in the year 1738, [when they convened a diet,] took many steps which gave uneasiness to the court of Petersburg. In fact they sent arms and cannon to Constantinople. A treaty — so it was said at the court of St. Petersburg—was concluded between them and the Porte; and Russia was even afraid of being attacked in Finland, while her armies were employed near the Dniester and the Crimea; the Swedes having already sent near 10,000 men into Finland, and begun to form magazines there. This was partly the cause of marshal Lacy's army not proceeding on any operation this year, but remaining quiet on the frontiers of the Ukrain. For the same reason, marshal Munich, after he had passed the Dnieper on opening the campaign, received an order from the court to send back two regiments of cuirassiers, and three regiments of foot; which troops, without a moment's delay, set out on their march for Petersburg. All these precautions happened to be needless; for Sweden was so very kind as to wait two years longer before attacking Russia, giving her time first to make a peace with the Porte, and to bring her

army back into good order. Accordingly, nothing was got by the war when it came, but shame and loss [as will be shown hereafter], whereas had it been begun in 1738, Russia would have been extremely embarrassed.

While the court of Stockholm, instead of acting, was wasting the time in negotiations and fruitless complaints, that of Petersburg was in motion, and employing every imaginable engine to frustrate its enemy's measures. Nay, the precautions that Russia took against the Swedish cabals involved resort to the most violent remedies, even to actual murder on the highway, as the following narrative will show.

I have observed above that there had been talk of a treaty between Sweden and the Porte. Monsieur de Bestucheff, who resided at Stockholm as minister of Russia, sent advice to his court, that major Sinclair * had been sent to Constantinople, whence he was to bring back the ratification of this treaty. Upon this news, marshal Munich, by order of the cabinet, sent certain officers, accompanied by some non-commissioned officers, into Poland, with orders to disperse themselves in different directions, and try to carry off Sinclair on his return from Constantinople; to take away all his letters and dispatches; and even to kill him in case of resistance. The officers, as they could not be everywhere, employed certain Jews and some of the poorer Polish gentlemen, to procure them information of the arrival of Sinclair; by which proceeding the affair got wind before the major had set foot on the territory of Poland. He had warning from the governor of Choktzim to take care of himself, as there were several Russian officers lying in wait for him, particularly at Lemberg or Leopol, on the road by which he meant to pass.

* In the French edition "Zinkler."

Upon this intelligence, Sinclair changed his route, and the bashaw of Choktzim gave him an escort that saw him safe to Broda, where the grand-general of Poland was, who gave him another with which he got safe into Silesia. There he thought himself secure; but having been obliged to stop a few days at Breslau, the Russian officers, who learnt by their spies the road he had taken, pursued and overtook him within a mile of Neustaedel. There they stopped him, took away his arms, and, after having carried him some miles farther, massacred him without mercy in a wood. After this disgraceful stroke, they took his clothes and his papers, in which, after all, nothing of consequence was found. The court of Russia having had them examined, sent them some months afterwards by the post to Hamburg, whence they were forwarded to Sweden.

The empress disavowed this execrable action, protesting solemnly that it was without her cognisance. Her ministers presented memorials to all the courts, to remove suspicions that might have been entertained of that of Russia; and in order that the assassins themselves might not be able to betray the secret, they were all seized and sent to Siberia, where they spent some years in dungeons, till the Empress Elizabeth, on ascending the throne, released them, and had them placed in garrison-regiments in the interior of the country.

Those employed in this affair were, captain Cutler, a native of Silesia, and the lieutenants Lesowitzky and Weselowsky, both subjects of Russia, each of whom had two non-commissioned officers to assist him. The two first committed the assassination; the third remained in Poland, but he nevertheless underwent the same treatment as the others.

Certain it is, that the empress did not know the orders

that were given to the officers about Sinclair, and that a great part of these proceedings were concealed from her, even after the assassination. The whole business was got up between the duke of Courland, count Osterman, and marshal Munich.

To finish what relates to this war against the Turks, and the field operations, I shall here insert a letter, which count Munich wrote to the duke of Courland, some time after the taking of Choktzim. It is translated from the original German.

*Letter from Count Munich to the Duke of Courland, August * 29th,* 1739.

" My Lord,

" It must be owned, that God bestows a blessing on all enterprises of her imperial majesty, our most gracious sovereign. The Pruth, so often fatal for Russia, is become propitious to us, and will be the basis of a lasting and honourable peace.

" To assemble an army, from the Don, the Donetz, the lines of the Ukrain, and from several other of the remotest provinces from the Dniester, at the rendezvous at Kiev; — to carry it across the Dnieper, which had this spring swelled extraordinarily, and overflowed its banks for near a German mile; — to march from the frontiers of Russia, into the very heart of Moldavia, by way of Poland, without taking the least thing in the shape of munitions or transport; — to pass the Bug, the Dniester, and the defiles of Tschernantza, or Perekop, in presence of the enemy, without suffering the least damage; —to sweep off on the other side of the Pruth, in Moldavia, and almost in the enemy's rear, several thousands of horses, horned cattle, and sheep; and thus provide at once

* The English edition dates the letter, September 29. But on that day Munich was aware of the disgraceful terms of the peace which had been concluded. Still the French date, if correct, must be that of the Russian calendar, i. e. answering to September 10: for it was only on that day that the Pruth was passed. See page 235., above.

for transport and victualment, at the expense of the Turks, without losing a single man *; — to repulse, with a considerable loss, the attacks of the Turks and Tartars, and drive the famous Kaltzchak Bashaw, with all the Tartar hordes, the Kipkans, and all those gallants who neither give nor take quarter †, from one camp to another; — finally, to attack the Seraskier Vely Bashaw in a well-intrenched camp, where he was at the head of an army of 90,000 men, of which he had detached a part to entirely surround us; — there to beat him, and take all his tents and baggage, six mortars, and forty-two brass cannon, with all the ammunition, and this without having more than seventy men in all killed and wounded; — to take the important fort of Choktzim, provided with 157 cannon and 22 mortars, with all military stores and provisions in proportion, and there make a bashaw and all his garrison prisoners of war, without so much as burning a match; — to pursue the fugitive enemy to the Pruth; to pass this river with the army; to build small forts on its banks, and thereby take possession of the centre of the enemy's dominions; to drive the Hospodar of Moldavia out of his dominions and his capital to the other side of the Danube; to raise contributions and maintenance in an enemy's country, and, with all our labours, to see our army without sick, in the midst of abundance, and in the best condition in the world; — all these great things, I say, it must be confessed, could never have been executed except with the hand of God conducting every thing to a happy end.

"The greatest part of these facts are such, that, without having been present at them, it is hardly possible to avoid doubting some of the circumstances. Who could imagine the janissaries having, in the fury of their attack, been received with so terrible a fire, that they could neither make use of their small arms nor sabres, much less accomplish the breaking our ranks? Who could conceive too that the terror

* Munich refers to the operation related above, p. 222., when, by a stratagem, he crossed the Dniester on the 30th of July, and gained five days before the Turks could bring any sufficient force against him.

† The Serdenguetchtis. See p. 223.

of the Turks was so great, that numbers threw themselves into the Pruth three days after the action, and the greatest part of the soldiers fled away as far as the Danube, without once looking behind them? On the other hand, no army was ever more anxious for fighting than ours.

"I receive every day solemn deputations, and letters of congratulation from Poland; nor is it to be doubted, that, with the divine favour, this campaign will terminate gloriously. I am, &c.

MUNICH."

Having treated consecutively of what passed in the army in the course of this year, I proceed now to the most important incidents of the interim at court.

The empress, though her thoughts were taken up with so expensive and bloody a war, had yet a mind to conclude the marriage which had been projected many years before, between her niece, the princess Anne of Mecklenburgh, and Prince Anthony Ulric of Brunswick, who had resided at the court ever since the year 1733.*

The marquis of Botta, who had succeeded to count Ostein, as minister of the court of Vienna, took the character of ambassador, and, in a public audience, demanded in the name of the emperor, the princess Anne in marriage for prince Anthony Ulric, nephew of the empress of the Romans.

The nuptials were solemnised a few days after this audience, on the 14th of July, and were celebrated with all possible magnificence. The equipages and dresses for the day of the ceremony had been preparing for a twelvemonth before. The archbishop of Novogorod pronounced the nuptial blessing, in the Church of the Holy Virgin of Kasan, and delivered, on the occasion, a sermon which was much admired and afterwards printed. But when the

* See above, pp. 50, 51.

empress Elizabeth ascended the throne, it was suppressed, there being several passages in it that were not relished.

On the day of that ceremony, no one imagined that the union of this prince and princess would one day prove their greatest misfortune, as well as that of many persons of distinction. The princess Anne was then looked on as the presumptive heiress of the crown; I am persuaded, too, that she could not have failed to ascend the throne, if the duke of Courland had not opposed it.* I shall have occasion to speak of this more at large, when I come to treat of the sickness and death of the Empress Anne.

This marriage seems an occasion for giving an idea of the magnificence of the court, and of the empress's usual manner of living. Speaking of the duke of Courland, I have already observed, that he was a great lover of pomp and show: and this was enough to inspire the empress with a desire to have her court the most brilliant of all Europe. Considerable sums were sacrificed to this design, which was, after all, not so easily fulfilled. The richest coat would be sometimes worn together with the vilest dressed wig; or you might see a beautiful piece of stuff spoiled by some clumsy tailor; or if there was nothing amiss in the dress, the equipage would be a failure. A man splendidly dressed would appear in a miserable coach, drawn by the wretchedest hacks. The same want of taste reigned in the furniture and maintenance of the houses. On one side, you might see gold and silver plate in heaps, on the other, the grossest filth. The dress of the ladies

* Except for the interposition of the duke of Courland, the Princess Elizabeth would have been put in a convent, and the revolution which placed her on the throne would not have taken place. (See above, p. 51.) But Manstein's remark apparently applies to Biron's inducing the empress Anne to make her niece's child heir, instead of herself. See below, p. 271.

was on a par with that of the men; for one well-dressed woman, you might see ten frightfully disfigured; yet the fair sex in Russia are generally handsome; at least they have pretty faces, though very few have fine figures.

This incongruous union of finery and meanness in Russia was almost universal; there were few houses indeed, especially in the first years of the reform, where every thing was in keeping. Little by little, however, others imitated the example of those who had some taste. But not even the court, nor Biron himself, succeeded at first in getting everything into that order and finish which are seen elsewhere. This was a work of years. Yet it must be owned, that, at length, every thing went on very well, except that the magnificence ran into excess and cost the court immense sums. It is incredible how much money went out of the country upon this account. A courtier that did not spend above 2000 or 3000 rubles a year in his dress made no figure. One might very well apply here the saying of a Saxon officer to the late King of Poland, advising him "to widen the gates of the town in order to let in the whole villages that the gentlemen of his court carried on their backs." In Russia, all those who had the honour to serve the court, ruined themselves past redemption in the effort to make a figure. It was enough for a *marchand de modes* to remain two or three years at Petersburg, to make a fortune, even though beginning the world there with goods upon credit.

The empress's usual manner of life was very regular. She was always up before eight in the morning. At nine, she began business with her secretary and ministers. At noon, she dined in her chamber with the Biron family. It was only on great occasions that she dined in public. When that happened, she was placed on a throne under a

canopy, with the two princesses, Elizabeth the present empress and Anne of Mecklenburgh. On these occasions the Grand-chamberlain * waited on her at table. There was commonly also a great table in the same hall, for the noblemen and ladies of the empire, the clergy, and the foreign ministers. But in the last years of the empress's life, she did not any longer dine in public, and the foreign ministers were entertained by count Osterman.

In summer, the empress took a good deal of exercise in walking; and in winter in playing billiards. She made a light supper and went regularly to bed, between eleven and twelve.

The court used to pass the best part of the fine season at a villa, which Peter I. had built at about seven leagues distance from Petersburg, called Peterhoff. It is one of the pleasantest situations that can be imagined. It stands on the sea-side; and from it you may, on the left, see Cronstadt and the whole fleet; on the right, there is a prospect of Petersburg; and opposite are the coasts of Finland. There is a spacious garden, and a magnificent *jet-d'eau*, but the house is no great matter; the apartments are extremely small and low. The rest of the summer, the empress resided at her summer palace at Petersburg, which is far from being a successful building. It stands on the banks of the Neva: the garden to it is large, and well kept up. The Princess Anne caused a new house to be set about, the old one being almost in ruins, but she did not live to finish it. It was reserved for the Empress Elizabeth to see the last hand put to it, and to place there the furniture which was in the house of marshal Munich at the time of his arrest.

There used to be deep play at court: many made their

* I. e. Biron. The English edition has "the High-Chancellor."

fortunes by it, and yet more were ruined. I have myself very often seen as much as 20,000 roubles lost in one sitting at *quinze* or *pharaoh*. The empress did not care for play; if she did play, it was only to lose. She then held the bank; and none were allowed to punt but those to whom she called. Any person that won was immediately paid; but as they played with counters, she never received the money from those who lost.

She was fond of public entertainments and music; and sent to Italy for all that was necessary for those objects. Comedies, which were acted both in Italian and in German, pleased her extremely; because they generally end with some one getting a beating.* In 1736, the first opera was played at Petersburg, and although very well executed, was less relished than comedy and the Italian interludes.

In the time of Peter I. and in the following reigns, drinking had been much practised at court; but it was not so in the time of Anne, who could not bear to see any one drunk. There was nobody but Prince Kourakin who had free permission to drink as much as he pleased. But that so excellent a custom might not be entirely lost, the 29th of January (Old Style), being the day of the empress's accession to the throne, was consecrated to Bacchus. On that day every courtier was obliged to toss off a great bumper of Hungary wine, with one knee on the ground, in the presence of her majesty. This reminds me of another singular ceremony. On the eve of the great festivals, the courtiers and officers of the guards had the honour of paying their compliments to her majesty, and of kissing her hand; her majesty thereupon presenting each with a glass of wine on a salver.

* The last clause is only found in the French edition. So also with the words "and to place there the furniture, &c.," in the last page.

There is another old Russian custom that, when a married man receives a visit, and his wife is present, he is bound to request those who come to see him to give her a kiss. The visitors beg the husband to set them an example, and the lady's lips are forthwith saluted by the whole company all round. The mistress of the house is, also, obliged to offer her own visitors something to drink. In the morning it is generally *eau-de-vie*, in the afternoon wine and all kinds of other beverages, which are taken even to excess. If any of the party decline on the first solicitation, the lady redoubles her entreaties, and if she cannot succeed otherwise, even throws herself at her guest's feet, to make him swallow his glass of wine or brandy.

Court jesters were formerly much in vogue. It was an ancient custom in Russia for every one in easy circumstances to keep at least one buffoon. Of course the court was well provided with them, and it is only since the regency of the princess Anne, that they have been entirely done away with; for the present empress could not bear them. As for the first Peter, he had quite a passion for them, and often kept as many as a dozen, or even more.

The empress Anne had six: La Costa, Pedrillo, a prince Galitzin, a prince Wolchonsky, Apraxin, and Balakrew. The names will sufficiently indicate that these four last were chosen from among the most ancient families of the Russian nobility. Wolchonsky is the brother-in-law of count Bestucheff, at this time chancellor of the empire. His special duty was to take care of the empress's pet greyhound.

The way in which this princess amused herself with these gentry was extraordinary. Sometimes she made them dress up in a line along the wall; when one of the

number would trip up the heels of the others, and make them come plump upon the floor. Sometimes in tussling they got to pulling each other's hair, and fighting till the blood flowed, while her majesty with the whole court looked on in raptures, exploding with laughter at the spectacle. Balakrew, who disliked practical jokes of the kind, one day would not let himself be tripped up, forgetting that a Russian sovereign does not know what the meaning is of listening to an excuse. La Costa was a Portuguese Jew, who had already served Peter I. in the same capacity. That monarch gave him the title of king of the Samoiedes. Pedrillo was an Italian, who had come to Petersburg to play the violin in the orchestra of the theatre, but finding that he had a talent for buffoonery, he changed his trade, and made so good a thing of the new one, that in nine years he realised more than 20,000 roubles. Like a wise man, he left the country with his money. The way in which he made the first 10,000 roubles was the following. It is a custom in Russia to pay a visit to a lady who has been confined, and to make her a present in money; if a person of quality, the least sum must be a ducat; and in acknowledgment of the compliment, the fair recipient's lips are saluted by the donor. The duke of Courland told Pedrillo one day by way of a joke that he was married to a she-goat. The jack-pudding replied, with a profound bow, that it was true; that his wife was just about to lie in, and that when the happy event occurred, he would take the liberty to ask her majesty, with the whole court, to come and see her; and that he trusted he should receive on the occasion presents enough to enable him to give a good education to his family. The court thought the joke excellent. On the day fixed, Pedrillo was put in a bed on the stage of the theatre with a she-goat by his

side; the curtains were drawn for the whole world to have a view of the pair, and the empress, first of all making her own present, fixed the sum which each of the members of the court was to give to the interesting mother.

In order to distinguish Pedrillo and La Gosta from the other jesters, her majesty instituted an order in their favour, which she called the order of St. Benedetto, and invested them with it. The decoration consisted of a miniature cross of St. Alexander, hung by a red riband from the button-hole.*

The prince Galitzin, although of one of the first houses of the empire, was forced to become a court-jester. Though above forty years of age, and even having a son serving in the army, of the rank of lieutenant, he was made this, and at the same time page of the court, by way of punishment for having in his travels embraced the Catholic religion. His first wife being dead, the empress told him he ought to marry again, and that she would be at the expense of the wedding. He accepted the proposal; and, pitching upon a girl in low life †, acquainted the empress with his choice, and claimed her promise. The empress, in giving this entertainment, had a mind, while amusing herself, to give at the same time an idea of her power, by showing how many different races of inhabitants there were in her vast dominions. Accordingly, she caused orders to be dispatched to the governors of the provinces to send up to Petersburg several persons of both sexes. These being arrived, were now dressed at the expense of the court, each in the habit of his respective country.

* The last five paragraphs are only found in the French edition; and in the place of the next sentence, the English edition has "Towards the end of the year 1739, the empress gave a comic entertainment. Prince Galitzin was the occasion of it."

† "Fille du commun."

Monsieur de Walinsky, a cabinet minister, was appointed manager of the arrangements for this wedding, and winter, the end of the year 1739, was the season chosen for the celebration of it. The empress, to make it the more completely extraordinary, had a house built wholly of ice: it consisted of two chambers, in which every article of furniture, [even the bedplace on which the new-married couple were to lie,] was of ice. There were four small cannons and two mortars made of the same matter. The cannon were fired several times, [with half an ounce of powder in each,] without bursting; [and little wooden grenades were thrown out of the mortars, without their being damaged.]

On the wedding-day, when the feast was to be celebrated, all the guests were assembled in the courtyard of M. de Walinsky: thence the procession set out, and passed in front of the imperial palace, and through the principal streets of the town. There was a great train, consisting of more than 300 persons. The new-married couple were placed at the head of all upon an elephant, shut up in a great cage. The guests, two and two, were in sledges, drawn by all kinds of beasts, as reindeer, dogs, oxen, goats, hogs, &c. Some were mounted on camels. After the procession had gone the round prescribed to it, it was brought into the duke of Courland's riding-house, [where a flooring of planks had been laid for the purpose, and] where there was a dinner prepared on several tables. Each guest was treated according to the manner of the cookery in his own country. After the repast, there was a ball; each nation had its own music, and danced in the fashion of its own country. When the ball was over, the bridegroom and bride were conducted into the house of ice, where they were put into a dismally cold bed,

with guards posted at the door, that they might not get out before morning.

Having related enough about the court, and the manners of that time, I return to general affairs.

The peace having been concluded between Russia and the Porte, under the mediation of France, the French king sent an ambassador extraordinary to the court of Petersburg. It was the marquis de la Chetardie that was invested with this character. He arrived at Petersburg in the month of January. On the part of Russia, Prince Cantemir, who had resided for some years in England, was sent in the same quality to the court of Versailles. It will appear in the sequel, that La Chetardie played a chief part in the politics of Russia.

In the month of January, the peace was ratified at Constantinople; and in the beginning of February, Monsieur de Neplueff, counsellor of legation, and son of the minister who had assisted at the congress of Nemirow, brought the ratification to Petersburg. As soon as the empress had received it, she sent couriers to the marshals Munich and Lacy, to invite them to court. They arrived there on the 24th of February, and on the 26th the peace was solemnly proclaimed. There were on this occasion great rejoicings, and great promotions in the army. Munich was gazetted lieutenant-colonel of the Preobraschensky regiment of guards, a post to which he had long aspired, without having been able to obtain it. Some time after, circumstances made the duke of Courland heartily repent having procured it for him; for, unless in that post, it would have been difficult for Munich to have seized the duke and made him prisoner in the manner he did.

Prince Anthony Ulric was also declared lieutenant-colonel of the guards, [of the regiment Semeneowsky,]

and lieutenant-general of the army. I shall say nothing of the other promotions, nor of the gratifications bestowed by the empress on her ministers and generals; it will be enough to observe, that these last were immense. The duke of Courland had, for his share alone, 500,000 roubles in ready-money.

The court had, during the course of the war, augmented the number of generals in the army to such a degree, that they greatly exceeded the number prescribed by the military establishment of Peter I. After the peace, it was thought proper gradually to reduce the supernumeraries; upon which several of the old generals, who were wishing to retire, had permission to resign; others were employed in the affairs of the ministry.

The empress did more: she caused an edict to be published, in which permission was given to every gentleman who had been twenty years in the army, and seen actual service, to demand his discharge. But no sooner was this ordinance published, than the number of petitioners was infinite. Half at least of the officers presented petitions for leave to resign, each pretending to have served above twenty years. There were instances of young men who were scarce past thirty, that insisted on their discharge; for having, at the age of ten or twelve years, had their names enrolled in some regiment, they reckoned the time of their service from that date. Several even who had not a farthing in their purses, still preferred cultivating their fields with their own hands, to military service. This made it necessary, some months afterwards, to repeal the ordinance.

It was the marshal Munich that had originated this project; and when it was revoked, he underwent the mortification of some reproaches, [very severe and very

undeserved,] for being the author of a measure, which, at bottom, only tended to the greater good of the state.

The republic of Poland had beheld, with envious eyes, the progress which the Russians had made in the war against the Turks; and being also extremely angry, that during the last two wars their army had taken the liberty to march over its territory, it sent count Oginsky, in quality of ambassador, to Petersburg, to make complaints, and demand satisfaction for the excesses which the troops had committed in those marches. The claims of the Poles on this account were exorbitant. The empress named some commissioners, who examined the damages upon the spot, and who estimated them at very little; but the complaints did not cease till the empress had disbursed some hundred thousands of rubles.

I have already mentioned, that in the year 1738, some bombshells, balls, and other munitions of war, with carriages belonging to the train, had been left behind in Poland. The empress wanted to pass them off in part payment of the debt exacted from her. The republic of Poland would not accept them in payment; and as the bringing of them away into the Ukrain would have cost more than the things were worth, she would have made a present of them to the republic, but even that was refused; the whole therefore was left to whoever would take them.

General Romanzow, to whom the court had, on the death of prince Baraitinsky, given the government of the Ukrain, was selected to be sent as ambassador to Constantinople. The point was, to provide in his room a man of probity and independence; for, as this province had suffered extremely during the whole time of the war with the Turks, having, for four years successively, alone afforded winter quarters to all the military forces of Russia,

and means of transport for all the stores for the campaigns, the country was reduced to a wretched condition; besides which, not only the governors, but even the subaltern officers, had grossly oppressed the inhabitants. The court wanted to put things into order again, and to save from total ruin one of the finest countries in its whole empire.* General Keith was the person pitched upon for this: he was just returned from France, where he had been for the cure of his wounds. He had orders to repair to Glogau, in quality of governor; where he did not reside above one year, but in that time he dispatched more business than his predecessors had done in ten. The Ukrain received great benefit from the mildness of his government, and from the order he established in the administration of affairs. He had even begun to introduce a sort of discipline among the Cossacks, which till then had been unknown to them; but he had not time to complete his work, for the war coming on with Sweden, caused him to be recalled. When he quitted Glogau, the whole country regretted him, saying, it was wrong in the court to give them a governor who had made them know the difference between him and his predecessors; or else, having once given them such an one, it ought to have left him; [and that his successors would only become the more insupportable to them, for the pleasure they had tasted in being governed with such gentleness].

Some months after the peace, the empress approved of another project, which, in its consequences, came to be most pernicious to the Princess Anne; this was the building barracks, or rather villages, near Petersburg, for lodging the regiments of the foot-guards, who till then had been billeted upon the inhabitants of the town. The

* See what is said of the Ukrain, above, page 16

ground was marked out, and the regiments went to work with such diligence, that the year following they were lodged in their own buildings. These barracks, where the whole regiment was assembled in one place, and where, through a great defect of discipline, all the officers are exempted from lodging, much facilitated the revolution which the Princess Elizabeth undertook and so successfully executed.

In the month of August, the court ordered the arrest of M. de Walinsky, cabinet minister; of the count Mouschin-Pouschkin, president of the college of trade; of the privy-counsellor Chroutscheff; of the superintendent of the board of works, Jerepkin; of the private secretary of the cabinet, Eichler; and of another secretary, called Sowda. There were several crimes laid to Walinsky's charge, but his greatest was, the misfortune of having incurred the duke of Courland's displeasure. During some days of coolness between the empress and her favourite the duke, Walinsky had given this princess a memorial, in which he accused the duke of Courland, and several others who were about her majesty. But he particularly aimed at infusing into her suspicions of the duke, and advised the empress to dismiss him. This princess having made it up with her favourite, had the weakness to put this memorial into his hands, in which there were but too many truths. The duke had no sooner read it than he resolved on the ruin of his antagonist; and as Walinsky was a man extremely impetuous, and often imprudent in his talk, and even in his actions, the other soon found the occasion he was seeking.

He was tried, and convicted of having often been guilty of speeches too free, and disrespectful towards the empress and her favourite; and was thereupon condemned first to have his hand cut off, and then his head. The

sentence was executed. The privy-counsellor Chroutscheff, and Jerepkin, were also beheaded, because they were his friends and confidants. The count Mouschin-Pouschkin had his tongue cut out; Eichler and Sowda underwent the knout, and were sent to Siberia. All the estates of these unfortunate persons were confiscated, and given to others, who did not keep them long. In this way it is, that in Russia, not only money, but even lands, houses, and moveables, circulate quicker than in any other country in Europe. I have seen lands change masters thrice, in a space of two years.

Walinsky was a man that had talents, but with them a boundless ambition, vanity, and indiscretion. He was fond of forming cabals, and was all his lifetime reckoned a turbulent spirit. Notwithstanding these faults, which he did not even know how to conceal, he had raised himself to the first posts of the empire. He had begun by serving in the army, where he arrived at the rank of major-general. Having quitted the army, he was employed in affairs of state. Already, under the reign of Peter I. he had been sent as minister into Persia; he had been second of the embassy at the congress of Nemirow; and count Jagouzinsky dying towards the end of the year 1737, he had, two years after, the post of minister in the cabinet; where he could not remain long, without getting up a quarrel with count Osterman, who naturally did not love parts or wit in his colleagues; and having, besides, drawn upon himself the resentment of the duke of Courland, he could not well help coming to an unfortunate end.

Count Bestucheff, whom we shall afterwards see playing a principal part in Russia, succeeded him in his place of cabinet minister. He was an intimate friend of the duke of Courland, who, as it was necessary for him to have some one in the cabinet that should be entirely devoted to his

interest, preferred Bestucheff to all others who had any pretensions to that place.

The feud between the courts of Petersburg and Stockholm still continued. Russia, dissatisfied at the alliance of Sweden with the Porte, prohibited the exportation of grain from Livonia; and in Sweden, the assassination of Sinclair still made a great noise.* The populace at Stockholm rose, and wanted to pull down the house of the Russian minister; but this ended in only breaking his windows; the mob crying out, that they were inspired by the soul of Sinclair.

In the diet of Sweden, always very stormy, there were continual disputes barren of all result; the one party called the *Hats*, composed of almost the whole nobility of Sweden, of the officers of the army, and of some senators, were for war: the other, which had the king at the head of it, and comprehended mostly those of rather an advanced age, and those who knew the power of Russia, had the nickname of the *Nightcaps*, and were for the continuation of the peace. These two parties were extremely animated against each other; and the count Bestucheff, brother of the cabinet minister, had people enough to inform him of the resolutions come to, not only in the senate, but even in the secret committee; all which he communicated to his own court, where the necessary dispositions were made for beginning the war in case of need.

Monsieur de Nolcken, minister of Sweden at Petersburg, contributed greatly to inflame, among the party of the Hats, the desire of having a war, by reporting in his dispatches that Russia was entirely ruined by its campaigns against the Turks; that the regiments were made up of nothing but young raw recruits, who scarce knew

* Above, page, 249.

how to handle their arms, and that many of them wanted a third of their complement.* These reports were entirely false; for, except those regiments which were returned from Ockzakow, where they had been in garrison, the Russian army was complete, and might almost be said to be in better order than even before the war; and the regiments which had constituted the army under Lacy had suffered very little loss.

All this year (1740) passed in negotiations. The French king offered his mediation, and proposed to adjust the differences between Russia and Sweden, but the animosity of the Swedes was not to be pacified; they would have a war, at the same time without making the necessary arrangements for it. At the eve of breaking with so formidable a power as that of Russia, they had but a very few troops in Finland, having recalled those they had sent there in 1738; and they had hardly any stores in the magazines of that province.

The court of Petersburg acted upon quite another plan, taking all the necessary measures for giving the Swedes an effectual reception in case of attack. The garrison of Wyburg was reinforced with several regiments; the magazines were filled; and preparations were made for getting the fleet into order.

Marshal Munich, accompanied by the hereditary prince of Courland, took a trip in the month of July to Cronstadt, to inspect the fortifications, and to have a conference with the admiral, as to what service might be expected from the fleet and gunboats †, in case of a rupture.

* The senate of Sweden has been accused of having transmitted to Nolcken ready-made minutes of the reports to be sent back to Sweden, with a positive order to write nothing from Petersburg but what had been prescribed to him. (Note of the author.)

† "Galères."

Ten thousand foot had been put into garrison at Cronstadt, where they were employed at work on the fortifications, and in making the new dock. These were designed to be embarked on board the gun-boats, if war should be declared.

On his return from this trip, Munich was ordered to take another to Wyburg, Kexholm, and Schlüsselburg, to make a similar inspection of the defences of those places, and to examine the frontiers of Finland. The hereditary prince of Courland accompanied him in this voyage too; but little did he at that time dream, when in the fort of Schlüsselburg, that in a few months this was to be the prison of his father and his whole family.

On the 24th of August, the princess Anne was brought to bed of a boy, who was christened under the name of Iwan.* The empress rejoiced extremely at this event, immediately made a declaration adopting the new-born infant as her own child, took it from its parents, and gave it an apartment adjoining her own.

Hitherto every thing had gone on to the empress's wish, but the end of her prosperity was come. Towards the end of September she fell sick; but as it appeared only an attack of flying gout, and her majesty did not even keep her bed, nobody was uneasy about it. In a few days, however, her illness greatly increased; she had, besides the gout, a violent spitting of blood, and great pains about the loins, and they began to fear for her life.

Count Osterman, who had not for many years stirred out of his room, on account of palsy in his feet, was

* This was the unfortunate prince lately murdered, after a confinement from his infancy. (Note of the English editor.) See the note on page 326.

obliged to be carried to court. The dispositions concerning the succession were made, and the new-born prince Iwan was declared grand-duke of Russia, and successor to the imperial crown. All the troops in quarters at Petersburg were assembled on the 18th of October, and the choice of a successor by the empress was proclaimed at the head of all the regiments. Even the princess Elizabeth, the princess Anne, the child's mother, and the prince Ulric, his father, took an oath to acknowledge him as their sovereign.

By the disposition made in this matter of the succession the empress had ordained, that in case of the prince Iwan's decease in his minority, or without lawful heirs, the second of the sons born in wedlock to the princess Anne and prince Anthony Ulric should succeed, and so on, in order of primogeniture.

The first great stroke had now been made by the duke of Courland, in procuring the exclusion of the princess Anne from the succession; for except for the favourite's continual cabals, she would infallibly have ascended the throne. The next point to be carried was to establish a regency, and to get that regency conferred on himself. He durst not however declare his design openly, but having confidentially intimated it to the baron Mengden, chamberlain to the empress, and president of the college of trade, so many artifices were employed in the cabinet and in the senate, that at last all officials in Petersburg, of the clergy, the civil-service, and the military, if as high as of the rank of colonel, were brought into the cabinet, to sign a memorial addressed to the duke of Courland, in which all the states intreated him to accept the regency during the minority of the grand-duke, till he should have completed the age of seventeen years. This done, it still remained to bring the empress to consent to this project;

and she was thereupon so beset by the duke's family and his creatures, as not to be left an instant alone, for fear the princess Anne should get a moment to speak to her. In short, the duke made her sign the act of the regency, without, as has been asserted, her knowing the contents of it.

The empress, growing worse and worse every day, died at length on the 28th of October, 1740, at the age of 46 years, 8 months and 20 days, after a reign of 10 years of uninterrupted fortune.

She was naturally gentle and compassionate, never liking to use severity; but she had the fault of weak princes, the allowing evil to be done in her name. Her favourite, a vindictive and cruel man, habitually abused the authority he held in his hands. During the reign of this princess, there were a great number of bloody executions, without reckoning an infinity of persons, — and some of them of the highest distinction,—who were sent to Siberia without her knowing anything of it. The number of exiles exceeded 20,000 persons.*

The day after the decease of the empress, the senate, the clergy, and all persons of distinction at that time in Petersburg, were summoned to the summer palace, where the empress had passed the last days of her life; the troops were put under arms, and the duke of Courland caused the act to be publicly read by which he was declared regent of the empire of Russia till the emperor Iwan III. should have completed his seventeenth year. Every one then took the oath of allegiance to the new emperor, and all things passed off quietly enough for the first days; but as the duke was universally detested, murmuring soon began to break out.

* This paragraph is greatly toned down in the English edition.

The regent, who had spies everywhere, soon learnt that he was spoken of with contempt; that some officers of the guards, especially of the regiment of Semeneowsky, of which Prince Anthony Ulric was lieutenant-colonel, had said, that if the prince would undertake anything against the regent, they would readily assist him. He was also informed, that the Princess Anne and her consort resented their being excluded from the regency. Beginning to be uneasy at this, he had recourse to violence, causing several officers to be taken up and carried prisoners to the citadel; Grammatin, the aide-de-camp of the prince, being one of them. The general Ouschakow, president of the secret chancery, and the solicitor-general, prince Troubetzkoy, had orders to examine them with all imaginable severity. Some of them had the knout inflicted on them, to bring them to an impeachment of others; in short, hardly a day passed, while this regency lasted, without some persons being apprehended.

Prince Anthony Ulric, who was the lieutenant-general of the army, lieutenant-colonel of the guards, and colonel of a regiment of cuirassiers, received an order to write to the regent, and request of him dismission from his posts. Nor was this enough; the regent caused him to be advised to keep his chamber, or at least not to show himself in public.

The regent had frequent conferences with the Princess Elizabeth, which sometimes lasted for hours. One evening, he said, before a large company at his house, that if the Princess Anne gave herself airs, he would pack her, with her prince, to Germany, and send for the duke of Holstein to place him on the throne. The project of the duke of Courland, who had long aspired to obtain the crown for his posterity, was, to marry the Princess Elizabeth to his eldest son, and his daughter to the duke

of Holstein; and I really believe, that if he had had sufficient time left him, he would have brought his plan to bear.

All this while, the Princess Anne and the prince her husband were under great uneasiness; from which, however, they were soon delivered.

Marshal Munich, who had been one of the forwardest intriguers in getting the regency for the duke of Courland, had imagined, that so soon as this prince had the power in his own hand, he would obtain from him everything he could desire; that the duke would have nothing but the title, while he himself would have the power of regent; in short, he aspired to be at the head of affairs, with the rank of general in chief of all the forces by land and by sea.* All these ideas were by no means agreeable to the views of the regent, who knew the marshal too well, and feared him too much, to raise him to a condition for hurting him; so that of all he asked he granted him nothing.

The marshal, disappointed in his hopes, changed sides.

* The ambitious schemes of marshal Munich had gone still farther in the life of the Empress Anne. When he entered Moldavia with his army, even before he had effected the conquest of that duchy, he proposed to the empress to make him hospodar of it; and if Russia had kept that province, it is probable this title would have been granted him. But having, after the preliminaries of the peace were signed, been obliged to return into the Ukrain, he made another request at least as extraordinary. He asked for the title of duke of Ukrain, and explained his views to the duke of Courland, when he enclosed him the request to be presented to the empress. The duke, accordingly, gave it into the hands of the empress, who said, on seeing it, "Marshal Munich is still excessively modest; I thought he would have asked me for the title of grand-duke of Muscovy." She made no other answer to this request; and there it dropped without farther mention. (Note of the author.)

The views of Munich probably were to make the Ukrain a sort of satrapy of Russia. See below, p. 283.

It was he that, on the part of the duke of Courland, had carried Prince Anthony Ulric the order for him to ask his own dismissal. He had caused the draft document to be prepared by his own secretary; and as the regent often commissioned him to the princess and her husband upon affairs relative to them, this intercourse gave him occasion of speaking to them in terms of complaint of the injustice of the regent.

One time in particular that Munich had, as usual, come to bring some disagreeable message from the regent to the princess, she complained bitterly of all the annoyances inflicted on her, adding, that she was tempted to leave Russia, and go with her husband and child to Germany; for that so long as Biron should hold the reins of government, she had nothing to expect but misery. The marshal, who only waited for an occasion to open himself to her, observed in answer, that though it was true that her imperial highness had no good to hope from the regent, she ought not to suffer herself to be cast down; and that if she would place confidence in him, he would soon deliver her from the tyranny of the duke of Courland. The princess, without hesitation, accepted his offer, leaving the whole direction of the affair to the marshal. It was then arranged, that the regent should be put under arrest, on the very first favourable occasion.

Meanwhile, the marshal continued to pay his court most assiduously to the regent, making show of great attachment, and of the firmest confidence in him. The duke, on his part, though he was not without his mistrust of Munich, treated him with the utmost politeness, kept him often to dinner, and, in the evenings, they would sometimes remain talking together far into the night; nor were there any present at their conversations but a few persons of confidence.

The day before the resolution, that is, the 18th of November, marshal Munich dined with the duke, who desired him to come back in the evening; when, as usual, they stayed very late together, talking of many things relative to the current times. The duke was restless and moody during the whole evening, often changed the discourse like an absent man, and at last abruptly, quite from the purpose, asked the marshal "If in his military expeditions, he had ever undertaken any affair of consequence in the night." This sudden question nearly disconcerted the marshal, who imagined from it, that the duke had some suspicion of his project. Recovering himself, however, quickly enough for the marshal not to observe his uneasiness, he answered, "That he did not remember to have "undertaken anything extraordinary in the night-time; "but that his maxim was, to seize all times that appeared "favourable." They parted at eleven at night; the marshal, in the resolution of not delaying his accomplishment of the regent's fall; and the regent, on his part, resolved to distrust all the world, to remove every person that could give him umbrage, and to fix himself yet more firmly in the sovereign power, by placing the Princess Elizabeth or the duke of Holstein on the throne; for he saw plainly, that without that he could never maintain his ground, the number of malcontents increasing every day. He would not, however, undertake anything till after the funeral obsequies of the late empress; and so his enemies were beforehand with him.

Marshal Munich was persuaded that he should be the first person dismissed; so that he was determined to strike his blow without loss of time. On returning from court, he told his senior aide-de-camp, lieutenant-colonel Manstein *, that he should have occasion for his service the

* The author of these memoirs.

next day, very early in the morning. Accordingly, at two in the morning, he sent for him. They got into a coach together by themselves, and repaired to the winter-palace, where the emperor and his father and mother had lodged since the death of the empress. The marshal and his aide-de-camp entered the apartment of the princess by the door of the wardrobe. There he made mademoiselle Mengden, lady of honour and favourite of the princess, get up. When Munich had explained himself to her, she went in and woke their highnesses; but it was the princess alone that came out to speak to him. They had but a moment's talk. The marshal ordered Manstein to call all the officers who were on guard at the palace, for the princess to speak to them. These being come, her highness represented in a few words to them, the outrages which the regent inflicted upon the emperor, herself, and her husband, adding, that as it was impossible, and even shameful, for her to endure such insults any longer, she was resolved to have him arrested, and had given marshal Munich the commission; so she hoped that the officers would be so good as to follow the orders of their general, and second his zeal. The officers made not the least difficulty of obeying the princess in all she required of them; upon which, she giving them her hand to kiss, and embracing them all, they went down stairs with the marshal, and got the guard under arms.

Count Munich told the soldiers what was in agitation; and all, with one accord, answered him, that they were ready to follow him wherever he should lead them. They were ordered to load their muskets, and an officer with forty men were left on guard with the colours. The other eighty marched with the marshal to the summer-palace, where the regent still resided.

About 200 paces from this house, the troop halted

and the marshal sent Manstein to the officers of the regent's guard to acquaint them with the Princess Anne's intention. They made no more difficulty than the others had done, and even offered their assistance to seize the duke, if it were necessary. Upon this, the marshal told Manstein to put himself, with an officer, at the head of twenty men, to enter the palace, seize the duke, and in case of his making any the least resistance, to massacre him without mercy.

Manstein entered the palace, and, to make no noise, had the detachment follow him at a distance. All the sentinels suffered him to pass without any opposition; for, as he was personally known to all the soldiers, they imagined he might be sent to the duke upon some affair of consequence, so that he got across the apartment without any difficulty. But as he did not know the particular room in which the duke lay, he was all on a sudden extremely embarrassed where to go, for to avoid giving the alarm, he could not ask the servants who were waiting in the ante-chamber. After a moment's thought, he resolved to keep advancing on, in the hope he should at length find what he was seeking. And so it happened in fact; for, after he had gone through two chambers, he came to a door that was locked; luckily for him, this was a folding door, and the servants had neglected sliding the bolts at the top and bottom, so that he easily forced it open. In the chamber he found a great bed, in which the duke and duchess were lying, buried in so profound a sleep that not even the noise he made in forcing open the door had woke them. Manstein having got close to the bed, drew the curtains, and desired to speak with the regent. Upon this, both started up, and began to scream with all their might, rightly judging that he was not come to bring them any good news. Manstein happening to stand on the side

on which the duchess lay, saw the regent throw himself out of bed on the ground, apparently with an intention to hide himself under the bed; on which, springing quickly round to the other side, he threw himself upon him, and held him fast locked in his arms till the guards came in. The duke having at length got upon his legs again, and wanting to disengage himself from their hold, distributed blows with his fist to the right and left; which the soldiers returned with strokes from the butt end of their muskets; and throwing him down again on the floor, they crammed a handkerchief into his mouth, bound his hands with an officer's sash, and then carried him, naked as he was, to the guard-room, where they covered him with a soldier's cloak, and put him into a coach of the marshal's, that was in waiting. An officer was placed in it by his side, and he was carried to the winter-palace.

While the soldiers were struggling with the duke, the duchess got out of bed in her shift, and ran after her husband as far as the street, when a soldier took her by the arm, and dragged her to Manstein, asking him what he should do with her. He bade him carry her back into the palace; but the soldier not caring to take the trouble threw her down into the midst of the snow, and there left her. The captain of the guard, finding her in this piteous condition, lifted her up, had clothes brought to her, and reconducted her to her apartment.

As soon as the duke was secured, Manstein was sent to seize his younger brother Gustavus Biron, who was then at Petersburg. He being lieutenant-colonel of the Ishmaëlow regiment of guards, this expedition required, if any thing, more precautionary measures than the first; for Gustavus Biron was beloved in his regiment, and had a guard from it in his house of a serjeant and twelve men. Accordingly the sentinels at first made some resistance, but they were

soon secured and threatened with death if they made the least noise. Manstein then went into the bedchamber of Biron, and made him get up, telling him that he had an affair of the greatest consequence to impart to him. Having drawn him to the window, he acquainted him with his orders of arrest. Biron wanted to open the window, to call his guard; but he was instantly told that the duke was seized, and that he himself would be killed on the least resistance. The soldiers, who had waited in the adjoining room, came in directly, and satisfied him that there was nothing for him but to obey. They gave him a fur cloak, put him into a sledge, and he too was carried to the winter-palace. At the same time captain Koenigsfelt, another of the marshal's aides-de-camp, was sent to apprehend count Bestucheff. The duke was put into the chamber of the officers of the guard. His brother and count Bestucheff had each a separate room, where they remained a part of the day. About four o'clock in the afternoon, the duke, with all his family (except his eldest son, who was then sick, [and who staid till his recovery at Petersburg]) were carried to the fort of Schlüsselburg. The other two prisoners were sent to places at a short distance from the capital, where they were kept till after their examination.

As soon as the duke was seized, orders were sent to all the regiments that happened to be then at Petersburg, to get under arms, and to assemble round the palace. The Princess Anne then declared herself grand-duchess of Russia, and regent of the empire during the minority of the emperor. She at the same time put on the collar of the order of St. Andrew, and all the States took a new oath of fidelity, in which the grand-duchess was mentioned by name, which had not been done in that imposed by the regent. There were none that did not make great demon-

strations of joy, at seeing themselves delivered from the tyranny of Biron; and from that moment every thing was quiet. Even the picquets were taken away, which the duke of Courland had posted in the streets to prevent commotions during his regency; and yet there were some who at the very moment of that event, prognosticated that it would not be the last revolution; and that those who had been the most active in bringing this about, would be the first to be overset by another. Time has shown that they saw only too clearly into futurity.

The grand-duchess dispatched also, on the same day, orders for arresting generals Bismark and Charles Biron. The first was nearly allied to the duke, having married his wife's sister, and was at that time at Riga, as vice-governor of the place; the other was own brother to the duke, and commandant-in-chief at Moscow. He had been his brother's worst enemy during his prosperity *, notwithstanding which he was involved in his disgrace.

The duke of Courland, who, as I before mentioned, was not without suspicion that something would be attempted against him, had given strict charge to the officers of the guard, not to suffer any one whatever to enter into the palace after his retiring to rest. The sentinels had orders to arrest whoever should come, and to kill on the spot any one that should make resistance. A picquet of an officer and forty men was posted in the gardens under the windows, besides sentinels all round the palace; notwithstanding which precautions, he could not avoid his fate.

The person who was principally employed in this affair confesses himself unable to conceive how it was possible for the attempt to succeed; for from the arrangements

* See above, p. 42.

made by the duke, the affair ought, naturally speaking, to have miscarried. A single sentinel's making any noise might well have ruined everything. It is even astonishing that count Munich and his aide-de-camp were suffered so much as to enter the winter-palace, where the Princess Anne then was; for in the night-time there was a picquet posted there, and sentinels all round, with orders to hinder any one whatsoever from going in. True it is, that the marshal chose, for seizing the duke, the day that the regiment of which he was lieutenant-colonel was to be on duty, both at the young emperor's and the regent's; to every soldier of which the aide-de-camp was also known: but notwithstanding this, if one single man had done his duty, the failure was certain. It is this negligence of the guards, to which no remedy was applied, which was so fatal to the grand-duchess in facilitating the revolution which the Empress Elizabeth effected the next year.

It would have been much easier to have apprehended the duke in broad day; for he often paid a visit to the princess, accompanied but by a single gentleman. Count Munich, or even any other officer of confidence, need only have waited in the ante-chamber of the princess, and have pronounced the arrest to him as he came out of her apartments; but the marshal, who liked that all his enterprises should have something striking in them, preferred the most difficult means.

On the 22nd of November, the grand-duchess bestowed several considerable rewards, and made many promotions of general officers. The prince, her husband, was declared generalissimo of all the forces of Russia, as well by land as by sea; count Munich had the post of prime-minister; count Osterman that of high-admiral, which had been many years vacant; the prince Czerkasky was appointed high-chancellor, a post that had not been filled

since the death of count Golofkin; the count Golofkin, son of the high-chancellor deceased, was made vice-chancellor. Several others had great rewards in ready-money, or in estates. All the officers and subalterns, who had been employed in the arrest of the duke, were promoted. Manstein had a regiment, and some estates; [which were taken from him again when the Empress Elizabeth mounted the throne]. The soldiers who had been on guard received rewards in money.

Marshal Munich had not thus worked the duke's fall, except to raise himself to fortune on the ruins of the Birons; he retained the same views as when he persuaded the duke to make himself regent, that is to say, to draw to himself the whole power of the regency, and leave the duchess nothing but the title; imagining that no one would dare to undertake any the least thing against him. He was much mistaken. The very same day that the Princess Anne declared herself grand-duchess and regent, he met with a rebuff that greatly mortified him. Having given the princess to understand, that he hoped to be appointed generalissimo, her answer was, that this post could suit no one better than her husband, as the father of the emperor. Upon this, Munich had a mind to ask once more for the sovereignty of the Ukrain*, with the title of duke; but his son, by earnest entreaties, dissuaded him from it. At length, he fixed upon himself for the post of prime-minister, and, by that step, extremely galled count Osterman, who till then had had the sole direction of the affairs of the ministry. He had never been a friend of Munich's, and he began from that moment to labour for his ruin.

* This expression seems to explain the nature of Munich's views, which were communicated to the duke of Courland, when his request for the title was made to the Empress Anne. See note on page 274. above.

The outrageous ambition of the marshal furnished only too many occasions of doing him an ill office. He had, in drawing up the declaration by which Prince Anthony Ulric was named generalissimo, inserted the following words:

"That though the marshal count Munich, after the "great services he had done to the state, might have put "in a claim to the post of generalissimo, he has never- "theless declined to do so in favour of Prince Anthony "Ulric, the father of the emperor, and is contented with "the place of prime-minister."

Count Osterman did not fail to show up these expressions, and make the prince sensible of all the haughtiness contained in them. This produced the first animosity on the prince's part against Munich, who, on his side contributed only too much to keep it up, [by the want of due deference in all his conduct to the prince; and yet the prince was the father of his emperor.] *

The first formal complaints of the prince against him were about his manner of writing to him; for there is, in Russia, a set formulary, which inferiors are obliged to employ when they write to superiors on any subject that relates to the service. The marshal disdained this, using, when he wrote to the generalissimo, no other than the common epistolary style. Moreover, he communicated to him no affair of consequence, though the princess had expressly ordered it; but when there were any trifles to be dispatched, such as promotion of the subaltern officers of the army, then, indeed, count Munich never failed to communicate the matter to the prince.

As the prince had, every evening, conferences of several hours with count Osterman, the count urged him to com-

* For this passage, the French has only "par sa conduite peu mesurée."

plain to the grand-duchess of Munich's treatment. This he did, and Munich thereupon had orders to confer with the generalissimo upon all affairs; and in writing to him to make use of the established formulary. This was a great mortification; but soon after he had others to undergo, more important, as well as more galling.

Count Osterman, who, in the time of the Empress Anne had not stirred out of his room for some years, now often had himself carried in a chair to the grand-duchess's. In the conferences he had with her, he was at great pains to insinuate, that the prime-minister was not well acquainted with foreign affairs, of which he (Osterman) had had the direction for twenty years; that consequently, he might, through mere inadvertence, lead the empire to steps that would be very prejudicial to the interests of the court; that for his own part, he should be too glad to inform him of everything, but that his infirmity hindered him from waiting on him. He added, that neither did the marshal know anything of the domestic affairs of the empire, from having been always employed in the war department. Upon these frequently reiterated representations, the grand-duchess resolved to restore the direction of foreign affairs to Osterman, and to give Golofkin charge of the internal administration; so that there remained nothing for Munich, with his title of prime-minister, but the war-department.

Stung to the quick at this, he desired leave to resign the office. The grand-duchess made some difficulty about granting his request, saying, she could not possibly do without his advice. The count really believing that his resignation would never be accepted, insisted on retiring, if the direction of all affairs was not restored to him on the same footing as in the first months of the regency. Upon which, his resignation was graciously accepted, at the

very moment that he thought he was establishing his power on firmer ground than ever. This came like a thunderbolt upon him: however, after a moment's reflection, he put a good face on it, thanked the grand-duchess for the favour she did him, and in a few days retired to his palace on the other side of the Neva, having while he was prime-minister occupied the house in the immediate vicinity of the court, that he had been obliged by the duke of Courland to quit eight years before.* This house has been ominous to the family of Munich; for his son, who lived in it after him, was seized there the very next year, when the Empress Elizabeth ascended the throne.

What greatly contributed to the acceptance of Munich's resignation, was the charge against him by the duke of Courland, who on his examination declared, "that he never would have accepted the regency, if count Munich had not used such urgency towards him; he having gone so far as even to try to throw himself at his feet; that he advised the grand-duchess not to trust him, as he was the most dangerous man she had in her whole empire; and that if her imperial highness was to refuse him any the least thing he asked, she must not think herself secure on her throne."

The princess, naturally timid, was extremely perplexed; and the prince her husband, and count Osterman, seized this moment to determine her to his dismissal, which she at last unwillingly agreed to. Others would have had her go farther, and send him to Siberia; and they would have prevailed too, if it had not been for mademoiselle de Mengden†, the favourite of the grand-duchess, who interceded for him. In the meanwhile, the horse-guards were doubled at the palace, [and frequently patrolled the streets

* See p. 64.

† She was sister of the wife of the young count Munich, son of the marshal.

day and night.] The marshal had spies set upon him, who followed him everywhere, and watched the least action or step of his. The prince and princess did not sleep in their usual bed, but changed their rooms every night till the marshal Munich had removed to his palace over the Neva, being every moment afraid of a new revolution.

A thing which did Munich much mischief in the minds of many, was the renewal of the treaty of alliance with the court of Berlin, —a treaty most prejudicial to Austria, as it put a stop to the march of the auxiliary forces which these two courts * had reciprocally agreed upon furnishing in the event of either being attacked.

When the King of Prussia learnt that the duke of Courland had been arrested, and that Munich had all the power in his hands, he sent his aide-de-camp major Winterfeld, who had married madame Munich's daughter by her first husband, to Petersburg. He was ordered to use all means for detaching the marshal from the interests of the court of Vienna, and for conciliating him to those of Prussia. Success was the more easy in this negotiation, from the circumstance that Munich had never been attached to the house of Austria.† The king too continued so to flatter him by the confidence he showed him, in asking his advice on several matters of great importance, that he got all he wished. As the marquis de Botta had been recalled some time before the death of the Empress Anne, the Queen of Hungary had not at the time a minister at Petersburg, which prevented many obstacles being thrown in the way. Baron Mardefeld, the Prussian minister, and major Winterfeld, made good use of this chance.

* Manstein doubtless means Russia and Austria. See pp. 213, 214.

† See above, p. 195.

Madame Munich received from the King of Prussia a ring set with a large diamond worth 6000 rubles, and the marshal's son got 15,000 crowns in ready money, besides being invested with the jurisdiction of a bailiwick in the march of Brandenburg, named Bugen. King Frederic William had given this bailiwick to prince Menzikoff; after him it went to the duke of Courland; and on his fall the king complimented count Munich with it. When he was arrested, the king put it into sequestration, in order to restore it to the Munichs if they should ever return from exile.*

The grand-duchess continued to marshal Munich an annual pension of 15,000 rubles, or 30;000 German florins, which together with the fine estates he possessed in several parts of Russia and in Germany, made up an income to him of 70,000 rubles, or 140,000 florins. The regiment of cuirassiers, which he had, was given to count Löwendal, but it continued to bear the name of Munich till the Empress Elizabeth's accession to the throne.

It was in the month of March 1741, that the marshal retired from court. In the preceding month of December he had had a fit of illness, which it was generally imagined would carry him off. The grand-duchess one day said, "that it would be happy for him to die of it, as he would then end his days in the fulness of glory, and at a time when he saw himself raised to the summit of honour." From these words one might infer that the court would soon be comforted for the loss of him, and that even the grand-duchess was jealous of his power.

A few days after the revolution, the grand-duchess caused an edict to be published, by which it was ordered to give the prince her husband, as father of the emperor,

* The last three paragraphs are found only in the French edition.

the title of His Imperial Highness. A little while after that, he was declared co-regent.

The arrangements for the interment and funeral obsequies of the empress could not be finished before the latter end of December. At length everything being ready, she was interred in the church within the citadel of Petersburg, with the usual ceremonies and all the pomp imaginable.

It has been mentioned above, that the duke of Courland was, on the same day that he was seized, transferred to Schlüsselburg. A commission composed of several senators proceeded there to try him, and condemned him to death. He had his pardon. The Princess Anne had from the first moment of the revolution resolved to banish him to Siberia. An engineer had been sent there to direct the building of a house, expressly designed for his prison. Marshal Munich made the first sketch of it with a pencil, little imagining then that it was for himself he was taking the pains. In the month of May the duke of Courland was transferred, with his family, from Schlüsselburg to his new habitation. His brothers, and also general Bismark, had already, some months before, been sent to different places in Siberia.

The marquis de Botta had been recalled from Petersburg a few months before the death of the empress, and resided at the court of Berlin. He was sent back to Russia after it was known at Vienna that the grand-duchess had been declared regent, in order to press this princess to succour the Queen of Hungary. But there were new reasons that hindered the march of the troops, several regiments of which had already had orders to leave their quarters, and take the route towards Riga.

On the one hand, the Diet extraordinary convened in Sweden towards the end of the preceding year, gave room for

apprehending that the result of it would be a declaration of war against Russia. On the other, the King of Poland, who was on the point of declaring himself against the house of Austria, caused a solemn protest to be made in the name of the republic, against the passage of the troops that Russia proposed to send to Silesia; and the count de Lynar, who was the minister of Saxony, knew too well how to avail himself of the terms of favour on which he stood with the grand-duchess and her favourite, not to thwart everything that might be contrary to the interests of his master.*

The court of Petersburg had not failed to notify to the states of Courland that their duke was seized; that he had had his trial, and been found guilty of high-treason; and that he and all his family were sent to Siberia, where he was to pass the remainder of his days. Russia, at the same time, took possession of several bailiwicks, to which she was setting up a claim. These districts had been mortgaged by the duke Frederic, predecessor of Biron, and husband of the Empress Anne. Peter I. had lent him 500,000 roubles upon certain districts; others had been mortgaged to private individuals. Biron had cleared them all off: the empress had made him a present of the debt owing to Russia; and by means of the liberalities he received from time to time from that princess, he was enabled to pay off the rest: for which reasons the court of Petersburg, alleging it to have been Russian money that was thus applied, sequestered the security.

The Courland nobility was then exhorted to proceed to the election of a new duke; and the grand-duchess gave them to understand, that if their choice fell on Prince

* Lynar had been minister from the court of Saxony, several years before, but was compelled to leave. See p. 89. above, and the note.

Lewis of Brunswick, her husband's brother, it would be the most agreeable to the regent, and that they might depend on the protection of Russia.

The count of Saxe *, natural son to the King of Poland, Augustus II., also put in specious pretensions to Courland. He had been already unanimously elected by the whole nobility in 1727. So early then as the month of February, he sent the baron Dieskau to Petersburg to solicit in his favour; but he met with nothing but refusals, and set out on his return thence the very day that Prince Lewis was to arrive at Mittau. On the 23rd of June, the nobility there assembled proceeded to the election, when baron Dieskau, who was by this time got to Mittau, interrupted the proceedings by a solemn protest, which he personally entered *vivâ voce*, in the name of the count of Saxe. He added a kind of manifesto in writing, of which he distributed a number of copies. But this did not hinder the Prince Lewis from being elected by the whole nobility, who stood too much in fear of the Russians to pay any regard to the rights of the count of Saxe.

The affair was not, however, terminated: the republic of Poland protested against this election, undertaken without its participation. Prince Lewis was unable to obtain investiture from the king†; and the revolution that happened some months afterwards annulled everything.

* This is the natural son of Augustus, by Aurora von Koenigsmarck, more familiarly known under the name of marshal Saxe. He was a man whose strong natural talents were only less remarkable than the extreme deficiency of his education. He could scarcely write, and his spelling was unparalleled by anything ever seen. Nevertheless, the compliment was paid him of wishing to elect him a member of the Academy at Paris, upon which he wrote to a correspondent, "Ils veule me fere de la Cadémie; sela miret com une bage a un chas." (Ils veulent me faire de l'Académie; cela m'iroit comme une bague à un chat.)

† Augustus III., elector of Saxony, and half-brother of the count Saxe.

In the beginning of July, Prince Lewis arrived at Petersburg, where he was received with all possible demonstrations of tenderness and friendship. He was immediately lodged in the summer-palace, and served by the officers of the court. In a little while afterwards, he had an apartment given him in the winter-palace. This prince soon gained the heart of every one, by the affable and engaging manner with which he treated all those who approached him; and people thought it a pledge of happiness for the Courlanders to have him for their duke.

The project of the grand-duchess and her ministry, in sending for Prince Lewis to Petersburg was, to make a match between him and the Princess Elizabeth, as soon as he should have been acknowledged duke of Courland. The princess made some difficulties; but she would at length have been obliged to marry him, if she had not taken other measures.

It was, also, in this month of July, that the Turkish ambassador arrived at Petersburg. The court had, for a long time, caused his journey to be retarded, in order to gain previous information of the manner in which the Russian ambassador had been received at Constantinople, that it might regulate its own conduct accordingly. When the satisfactory news for which they had waited was received, the Turkish ambassador made his public entry into Petersburg on horseback. He was treated with great distinction. It had been stipulated at the peace of Belgrade, that the ambassador of Russia should be received at Constantinople with the same distinction and the same ceremonial as were observed towards the ambassador of the emperor of the Romans (of Germany) which had not been hitherto the practice. And accordingly, on the occasion of this embassy, the court of Petersburg employed all imaginable magnificence to render its reception splendid.

A little while afterwards, there also arrived at Petersburg a Persian ambassador. This was, perhaps, the most extraordinary embassy that ever was seen. Thomas Kouli Khan (Shah Nadir), after his conquest of Mogulistan, had, in the beginning of the year 1740, sent a notification of his victories to the empress, by an ambassador, at the head of a retinue of 16,000 men and twenty pieces of cannon. The court had timely advice of this, and sent a body of troops towards Astrakhan, to form a camp there, on the frontiers of Persia.* When the ambassador was come to near the river of Kisliar†, major-general Apraxin, who commanded five regiments of foot and six of dragoons, sent to meet him, and to acquaint him, that as he had a great desert to cross to go from Astrakhan to Moscow, it would be impossible to furnish him with provisions and forage for such numbers; so that he desired him to take at most 3000 persons with him, and to leave the rest behind. This representation stopped the ambassador short. He sent a courier to his master, who ordered him to settle with the Russian commissaries the number of persons that should accompany him to court, where he could not arrive till July 1741. He, also, made his entry on horseback; and it was one of the most magnificent and the most extraordinary ever seen. His retinue consisted of 3000 men, and of fourteen elephants, which the shah sent as a present to the emperor, and to

* These troops to the number of 18,000 were despatched in the winter from Zaritzin, and perished at the rate of eighty daily from the inclemency of the weather. The great cause of the loss was said to be a deficiency of brandy, and an excess of indulgence in it when it was to be had. (Hanway, vol. i. p. 68.) The frontiers of Persia alluded to in the text, are those of the Persian province of Daghestan. See p. 58. above, and the note. The Russian troops were sent to Kisliar, on the Terek, as well as to Astrakhan.

† The Terek.

the principal lords of Russia. The other presents were also considerable.

The ambassador said, in the harangue which he made to the grand-duchess on the day of his audience, that his master had wished to share the spoils of the Mogul with so good an ally as the emperor of Russia. There was a considerable quantity of large diamonds and precious stones, which however were not polished.

Some of the Russian ministers had been afraid that the designs of the Shah Nadir in sending so numerous an embassy was, to seize the kingdom of Astrakhan, and even to make greater conquests, if they had found the Russian frontier undefended. But the true design appears to have been to ask the Princess Elizabeth, since empress, in marriage, with the offer to introduce the Christian religion into his whole dominions.* The regent would have been glad to have concluded this match, but judging the step rather rash, she determined to refuse. The ambassador was a near relation of Shah Nadir, and master of the horse to him.

Hitherto the French ambassador had not had his audience. He would not deliver his credentials to the grand-duchess, unless in presence of the emperor himself; and as in Russia the children of sovereigns are never shown in public till after they have passed the first year, this created a difficulty on both sides. At length, La Chetardie, waving the character of ambassador, had a private audience of the grand-duchess in the emperor's apartment.

* This will not sound incredible to those who consider that, by his own authority, he changed the Persian sect of religion for the Turkish; and often talked of giving to his dominions a religion of his own framing (Note of the author.) By the idea being entertained at all, it would seem that the project of a marriage with Prince Louis of Brunswick was already abandoned. Perhaps the match with Nadir Shah was intended as a punishment of Elizabeth for rejecting the Brunswick alliance.

Everything was quiet in the empire; and indeed no one had any cause of complaint, Russia never having been governed with more mildness than in the year of the grand-duchess's regency. She took a pleasure in conferring favours, and was an enemy to all severity. She might have been happy, if her conduct in domestic life had been as good as that she observed towards the public; and if she would have made more use of the advice of persons of sense, and not given herself over without reserve to her favourite.

Mademoiselle Julia de Mengden had received nothing better than the common education given in Livonia to young gentlewomen. Bred in the country, they are generally designed to be married to some good plain country gentleman, and to superintend the management of his property. In the time of the Empress Anne, there was a kind of preference shown to the Livonian young women for maids of honour, and the family of baron Mengden was one of the most ancient of the country. He was in great credit with the duke of Courland, and took advantage of the circumstance to introduce his daughters. Three of them came to court at once; the eldest sister, named Dorothea, was married to count Munich, son of the marshal; the second, Julia, became the favourite of the grand-duchess, and came to play the most important part of the three; the third, Jacobina, followed her sister the favourite and the grand-duchess into exile. A fourth sister, named Aurora, was also placed at court in the time of the regent; she afterwards married the count of Lestock, and was involved in his misfortune, which she bore with much fortitude. It will easily be conceived, that these ladies knew but little of the world, and had nothing of the kind of talent fit for the cabals of a court: nor, indeed, did three of the number at all concern themselves with them. But

Julia, favourite of a regent, who herself was mother to the emperor, took it into her head to intermeddle in affairs, or rather, being naturally indolent, tried to infect her mistress with that vice. She succeeded only too well. The princess often suffered the most important affairs to languish, while remaining for days together shut up in her chamber, seeing as few persons as she possibly could. Without any other dress than a petticoat and short cloak, and a nightcap made out of a handkerchief*, she admitted none to see her but such as were friends or relations to the favourite, or else some of the foreign ministers, who were invited to make up her party at cards. So odd a conduct could not but annoy the grandees of the empire. The Prince Anthony Ulric saw with concern the ascendant that mademoiselle Mengden had gained over his wife. He made representations to her on that head; but these only produced altercations between them, and gave the Princess Elizabeth time to carry on at her ease the necessary intrigues for seating herself on the throne.

There were often great misunderstandings between their imperial highnesses, which lasted whole weeks; and the favourite, instead of endeavouring to reconcile them, had the imprudence to inflame the grand-duchess the more against her husband. She made it her principal business to assist her mistress in her amour with the count Lynar, minister of the king of Poland, elector of Saxony. The count had made this illustrious conquest some years before, but was not allowed at that time to remain in quiet possession of it. The duke of Courland and the Empress Anne, on receiving information of the intrigue, induced the King of Poland to recal his minister.† But when the

* The French edition has in general terms "dans un déshabille très simple."

† See above, p. 89.

grand-duchess got the supreme authority into her own hands, she had nothing more to fear. Mademoiselle Mengden, for the better concealment of the intrigue, determined to marry M. Lynar herself, and the grand-duchess made her a present of a fine property in Livonia and also of the palace of Gustavus Biron. The contract of marriage having been made, the count was able frequently to visit the favourite, and in her apartments to have interviews with the princess without any umbrage being taken. Some time afterwards he went to Saxony to settle his affairs; as he was to return, and to enter the service of Russia as grand-chamberlain. Happily for himself, he did not come back immediately, or he would have been sent to Siberia, like the rest of the persons who were arrested when the Princess Elizabeth declared herself sovereign.*

There was no more harmony among the ministers of the cabinet than between the prince and princess. Count Osterman, who had contributed the most to the removal of Munich, because he was jealous of his power as prime-minister, found a new rival in the count Golofkin, vice-chancellor of the empire, who could not see, without envy, Prince Anthony Ulric giving his confidence wholly to count Osterman, and following no counsels but his. By way of counterpoise, he attached himself solely to the grand-duchess, and entirely appropriated her confidence. She had several affairs of the greatest consequence dispatched by him without acquainting either her husband or Osterman. It was also the count Golofkin who was the first to advise the grand-duchess to declare herself empress; but this

* This paragraph, after the first sentence, varies very much in the English edition. The grand-duchess is represented as neglecting affairs of state, from an excessive desire to marry her attendant to count Lynar, but there is no hint of any ulterior design on her part.

project, of which I shall speak in another place, was never executed, on account of the revolution which occurred.

While all these matters were passing at Petersburg, the Diet extraordinary continued its sessions at Stockholm, and all advices from thence were full of nothing but of an approaching rupture with Russia.

It was a long while before the government at Petersburg could believe that Sweden would declare war. France, as I have already said, had offered her mediation the preceding year*, and both parties had accepted it; so that the court of Russia flattered itself that the court of Stockholm would, at the end of the diet, make some proposals; and count Osterman was of opinion, in that case, to give up to Sweden the town of Kexholm and its district. Peter I. had already consented to a cession of that place, with its territory, to the Swedes, if they should persist in the desire of having back some part of Finland. This time, however, the Swedes preferred war to negotiation. Monsieur de Nolcken, their minister at Petersburg, left in the month of July, alleging as a pretext that his private affairs called him to Pomerania, where he possessed estates. At that time it was already known at court that war was resolved on in Sweden, and that consequently Nolcken would not return.

As Sweden was rent by various factions, count Bestucheff, minister of Russia at Stockholm, found it no great difficulty to get informed of everything that was transacted in the diet. He knew all their resolutions as well as if he had been of the secret committee; and it was on intelligence the court had received from him, that the grand-duchess sent for the generals Lacy and Keith to Petersburg. Councils of war were held, and it was resolved to

* See p. 269. above.

assemble, for that campaign, the troops in different bodies; of which the most considerable was to be under the orders of marshal Lacy and general Keith, in Finland, and was to act offensively as soon as ever they should learn that a declaration of war had been made. The second, which was to be commanded by the Prince of Hesse-Homburg, was to stay in Ingria: his camp was marked out near a place called Krasna Gorka (red mountain) at about six or seven leagues from Petersburg, to hinder the descents which the enemy might attempt on this side. It was also decided, that there should be other small bodies of troops assembled in Livonia and Esthonia, the whole of which were to be under the orders of Löwendal, in order to protect the coasts of that country: for the Russian fleet was in so bad a condition that it could not be got out of the ports that year.

On the 22nd of July, the first camp was begun to be formed, under the orders of general Keith, four leagues off Petersburg, on the side of Wyburg, near a village called Ossinoua Rostchtsche. It consisted of five regiments of foot, three of dragoons, and some companies of grenadiers detached.

On the 26th, the generalissimo, accompanied by his brother Prince Lewis, and marshal Lacy, arrived in camp to review these troops. While they were inspecting the manœuvres of the dragoons, they heard the cannon of Petersburg fire, which was for the happy delivery of the grand-duchess of a daughter, who was named Catherine; upon which the prince and all his retinue returned immediately to Petersburg.

Keith, with the body of troops under his command, advanced to within eight miles of Wyburg, near a village called Moola Muisa; where, observing that the roads divide, and that one may march as far as that village along

the sea-shore, then turn Wyburg, and so penetrate as far as Petersburg, he caused the construction of a strong entrenchment to be set about. This body of troops, which had arrived at Moola Muisa on the 6th of August, staid there till the 25th of that month. On the 24th, being the emperor's birthday, Keith put the troops under arms, and caused the declaration of war against Sweden to be proclaimed. They received it with great demonstrations of joy. The general made a short harangue at the head of each battalion, exhorting the soldiers to do their duty, and to endeavour not only to preserve the glory which the Russian arms had already acquired, but to augment it.

But before entering upon the operations of the Russian army, it will be proper to give some details of the previous conduct of the Swedes. I have already mentioned the political divisions of Sweden, and that the party called the Hats was determined on war, [and that ever since the year 1737, they had been labouring to bring it on,] but that, instead of declaring it in the year 1737, at a time when Russia was engaged with other powers, and her forces were at a great distance from the frontiers of Sweden, they remained with their arms crossed, leaving the Russians to make a peace; nor did they break with them, till they were enjoying a profound tranquillity on all sides. All the rest of the Swedish measures were as ill concerted. On the eve of declaring a war against a power like Russia, they had but few troops in Finland, which must be the theatre of war; they had no magazines, nor provisions enough in their whole country to form any; consequently, even the troops that were maintained for the defence of Finland, could not be assembled in one camp.

Several sensible persons, who had the honour of their country at heart, represented these difficulties to the diet; but as they were of the Nightcap party, their advice was

rejected. Lieutenant-general Buddenbrog was, however, sent to Finland, to examine everything upon the spot. He, who desired nothing so much as war, instead of reporting the truth, notified to the senate that everything was in a very good condition; that the troops might be assembled without delay; and that there were provisions sufficient. On the other hand, France, whose interest it was that Russia should not take part in the contest which she and her allies were carrying on against the house of Austria, had made great remittances of money to Sweden, while exhorting the nation to declare war. In short, the Hats, a party made up of blockheads, were so persuaded that the Russian army had been entirely ruined by the campaigns against the Turks, and that all the regiments were only patched up with raw recruits, that they declared everywhere, that one Swede was enough to drive ten Russians before him; and that their army, to be victorious, would have nothing to do but to show itself.

The senate had taken some precautions that this news should reach the court of Petersburg as late as possible, to give the more time to general Buddenbrog to make some further arrangements for assembling his troops, and enable count Loewenhaupt (who, from marshal of the diet, had been chosen commander-in-chief of all the forces that were to be employed against Russia) to reach the army; so that all the posts were forbidden to furnish horses to any courier or express. Orders had also been given at all the seaports not to suffer any vessel to sail; but a Courlander, that was at anchor in the road of Sandham when the declaration of war was published, slipped away, and carried the news to Liebau, whence it was immediately sent to the court of Russia, who thus got information of it fifteen days after the declaration had been

made at Stockholm. General Keith had orders upon this, as I have before related, to proclaim the war at the head of the troops under his command, and to approach the frontier.

Sweden had alleged for the principal reasons that incited her to this war: "The assassination of Sinclair; — the Russian prohibition of exports of grain from Livonia; — the exclusion of the Princess Elizabeth and the duke of Holstein from the throne of Russia *; — and the extravagant power that the foreigners in Russia had usurped over the nation."

I return now to the military operations. General Keith, the very next day after the publication of the war, marched with the regiments under his orders.

On August 26th, the troops passed through the town of Wyburg, and encamped on the bridge of Abo. Major-general Uxkul was detached with 1000 dragoons to approach the frontier of Sweden, and to get news of the enemy. The regiments were ordered to take bread for fifteen days from the magazines of Wyburg. Six regiments of foot, which had encamped under that place, and had worked at the fortifications, joined the body of troops under general Keith; as did general Stoffeln and major-general Fermor, who had commanded there. Major-general Schipow was appointed commandant of the town, and was left with the usual garrison of three regiments of foot.

On the 28th, the army began its march, and approached the frontier; but the ground being extremely confined in those parts, the troops could not find space enough for a camp to contain all, so that the dragoons and a part of the

* The duke who was afterwards Peter III. of Russia, son of Anne, the elder sister of Elizabeth. The exclusion of the two from the throne of Russia seemed certain when the duke of Brunswick's son was born.

infantry encamped at a village called Cananoia, a league from the frontiers, and the rest about half a league behind. The same night, a Swedish subaltern officer (accompanied by a drum) having some letters to deliver to the general, came so near an advanced guard as to be within pistol-shot, and not having beat the call till he was just upon the sentinels; these, not being able to distinguish objects, and afraid of a surprise, imagining that it might be a party of the enemy, fired, and killed the subaltern's horse; upon which the officer got off the ground as fast as he could, with his drum, and without delivering his letters.

On the 31st, marshal Lacy arrived at the army, and took the command of it.

It was ascertained from some deserters, that the garrison of Wilmanstrand did not consist of above 500 or 600 men; that the Swedes had not as yet assembled above two bodies, each of 4000 men, the first under the orders of major-general Wrangel, in camp about three Swedish miles * from Wilmanstrand, and the other under general Buddenbrog, about six; that the other troops, just come out of quarters, were on the march; that a part of those transported from Sweden were not as yet landed, so that the whole of the enemy's army could scarcely be assembled within three weeks more; that count Loewenhaupt was still in Sweden, and was not likely to come soon to the army. This information was confirmed by several spies, who could the more easily gain certain intelligence, from their being inhabitants of Wyburg, and having friends and relations in all the towns of Swedish Finland.

Marshal Lacy, with a view to take advantage of the unprepared state of the enemy, resolved to enter into

* Ten Swedish miles make a degree of latitude.

Swedish Finland, and seize on the town of Wilmanstrand; and for this purpose he assembled the chief officers of the regiments, and gave them their orders in person. On September 1st, at break of day, the army began its march. All the baggage and tents remained in the camp. The soldiers took bread with them for five days. Two staff-officers were left in charge of the camp; for the guard of which each regiment furnished three of its officers, and 100 of its men; and every brigade a captain. The regiment of Nitschegorod, which was that day to join the army, had also orders to remain in the camp, in guard of the baggage. The army could only march in one column: for in that country there is no praëticable way but the high road. On each side there are thick woods, marshes, and rocks. In all Finland there is scarce a plain to be found large enough to encamp with four regiments in front.*

The army made a march of two Swedish miles in the enemy's country, without seeing any one but a few peasants, who escaped into the woods as soon as they perceived the Russian vanguard, and ran to carry to Wilmanstrand the first news of the approach of the enemy.

Towards nightfall, the army drew up in three lines along the high road; the dragoons close to the wood on one side of the road, and the infantry in two lines behind them, without more interval than of about thirty or forty paces. The troops lay on their arms. At eleven at night, there was a great alarm: Colonel Wilbrand, commandant of Wilmanstrand, having learnt the march of the Russians, had detached four men, who, under favour of the night and of the wood, were to get as near as possible to the enemy's army, and to reconnoitre it. One of

* "En front de bandière."

the sentinels of the advanced guard in the wood, having perceived them, fired upon them. Scarce had the guns gone off, before some regiments of the second line started up on a sudden, stood to their arms, and, as if they had been all in concert, began to pour a most brisk fire upon the first line, without its being possible, for half an hour together, to make them cease; some cannon even were fired. The regiments that lay in their way had an officer and seventeen men killed and wounded.

The generals Lacy and Keith had a narrow escape of being killed in this false alarm: they had small tents pitched for them to lie in between the lines; and several balls went quite through these.

About 200 of the dragoons horses, taking fright at the fire, broke loose from the pickets, and ran away on the high road to Wilmanstrand. An advanced guard of the Swedes, that was posted about half a league from the Russians, hearing the firing, and at the same time the trampling of the horses that were coming straight towards them, imagined it was a detachment of the enemy, and fled at full speed to the town; the horses following them so close, that they entered it *pêle mêle*, with the Swedish guards, before the bridge could be drawn up.

It was through this false alarm that general Wrangel had the first notice of the approach of the Russians. Hearing the firing in the night-time, and imagining that Wilmanstrand was attacked, he immediately sent advice of it to general Buddenbrog, and, by break of day, got under march to come to the relief of the town.

On the 2nd, the army resumed its march as soon as it was day. After having proceeded about a French league, they came to a small river, which it was necessary to pass. The bottom was muddy; and the Swedes had broken down the bridge [upon the last night's alarm]. Here then they

were obliged to halt some hours till the bridge was repaired. [This much retarded their march.] Colonel Rezanof, with the regiment of Kiev dragoons, was ordered to guard this pass, and the army resumed its march. Towards noon, a detachment of a hundred of the enemy's dragoons approached the Russian vanguard, and could not retreat quick enough to escape an attack and having a prisoner taken. About four in the afternoon, the army arrived under Wilmanstrand, and took up a position about a quarter of a league off, near a small village called Armila.

Marshal Lacy and general Keith proceeded directly to reconnoitre the town, under the escort of a battalion of foot, and 200 mounted grenadiers. They approached to within a good musket-shot of the covered-way. Scarce were the generals returned to the camp, when they got intelligence that a body of the enemy, some thousands strong, was coming up in the neighbourhood of the town. The marshal instantly moved all his troops forward, and posted them on the eminences opposite t o the Swedes. An engagement would have ensued that very evening, if night coming on had not prevented it. The Russians returned into their camp near Armila, and the troops again lay on their arms.

But before I proceed in this narrative, I will give an idea of what the town of Wilmanstrand was, and of its situation.

It is a little town, at the distance of full four German miles from the frontier of Russia, situate on the side of a great lake; this covered it behind, so that there was no attacking it but in front, where it was fortified with a covered-way, a dry ditch palisaded, and a staked rampart; the whole made of earth and fascines. The town, though itself situated on an eminence, has hills all round, which

command it. The highest is on its proper right, where there was a windmill. The Swedes had posted a detachment there, to hinder the Russians from occupying it. The rest of the ground is extremely broken and intersected; there is nothing but woods, marshes, bushes, rocks, and ravines; so that it is very difficult to approach the town except by the high road. Here and there only one may find little bits of fields, cultivated and enclosed. Whoever considers this description must allow it to be very difficult for troops to act upon such ground, and that a small body of men, that understood how to defend themselves, would easily defeat a greater one attacking them.

The next day, the 3rd of September, it was observed that the enemy had encamped between the hill of the windmill and the glacis. Towards ten in the morning, a party of Swedes advanced near to the Russian army to reconnoitre it, and immediately withdrew. The marshal was not as yet exactly apprised of the force of the enemy. He imagined that the two bodies under Buddenbrog and Wrangel had joined, for the relief of Wilmanstrand; and accordingly judged it would be difficult to attack and defeat them both in the advantageous post they had taken up. He had, in the night, sent back the heavy artillery, under an escort, to the bridge where Rezanof was posted with his regiment; and had even given orders to the quarter-masters to go and mark out a camp behind it, when intelligence was brought, that it was nothing more than the body of troops under major-general Wrangel that had arrived, which, together with the garrison of the town, might make up about 5000 or 6000 men. Upon this, the marshal assembled the generals and all the colonels, and acquainting them with the situation of things, asked their advice. Their voices were unanimous for attacking the enemy.

At two o'clock in the afternoon, the army got under march in several columns, without any special disposition being made for attacking.

The dragoons were placed in the wings, but those of the right being absolutely useless on account of the wood, which was much thicker there than on the left, they were withdrawn. Two regiments of foot grenadiers, of ten companies each, commanded by the colonels Lohmann and count Balmaine *, composed the van of the Russian army.

The enemy having notice that they were marching upon him, had got into order of battle on the declivity of the Windmill-hill, having a battery of cannon in front of his centre, and his left resting on a ravine about a musket-shot from the glacis of the town; his dragoons on the right were posted in a small plain on the other side of the same hill, near a small village.

The Russians being arrived on a rising ground opposite to the Swedish battery, placed there two 6-pounders, and some 3-pounders, and the action began with a cannonade on each side. The Swedish artillery did some mischief among the grenadiers. Upon this general Keith ordered two regiments of grenadiers to attack the enemy's battery, and the regiments of Ingermanland and Astrakhan, commanded by colonel Manstein, to support them. But the ground was so extremely narrow, that there was no issuing out of the wood which the Russians had in front of them except by marching in a front of two companies; and then they had to descend a steep ravine, and again climb a hill, in the face of the enemy, and under a fire of cannon and small arms, which was exceedingly severe; so that the two regiments were thrown into disorder

* Ramsay, who had left the Turkish service in 1735. See above, p. 88.

and gave way. To hinder these runaways from communicating their confusion to the two regiments that were following them, general Keith ordered Manstein to débouche by his right, and to attack the left wing of the enemy, who were quitting the ravine on which they had encamped, for the purpose of advancing. This was instantly executed, and so successfully that after the first volley which the Swedes received, [at sixty paces distance,] they wheeled about and ran straight towards the town, where the two regiments followed them to the foot of the glacis, which they began to attack. While this was passing on the left wing of the enemy, the generals ordered an attack on the right wing of the Swedes, who, having remarked the confusion into which the Russian grenadiers had been thrown, descended from their eminence, and lost, by this means, both the advantage of the ground and that which they derived from their battery; so that they were soon routed, and the hill carried by 5 o'clock in the evening. The cannon of the enemy were turned against the town, and the marshal sent a drum to summon it; but the soldiers of the enemy, continuing to fire from the rampart, killed the messenger. The Russians, extremely provoked at this incident, renewed the assault with fury, and carried the town towards seven that evening.

The Swedes had hoisted the white flag on the side of the gate, at the time that the Russians were actually in the fosse; but as, in the confusion, the commandant had forgotten to send orders to all the posts to cease from firing, they continued it, and thereby occasioned the town to be taken by storm.

Most of the Swedes, who had been in this action, were killed or made prisoners. Not 500 men escaped. Colonel Lieven, with the dragoons, went in pursuit of them,

without being able to overtake the Swedish cavalry; and the few foot that got off hid themselves in the woods and marshes. Major-general Wrangel, who had received a gun-shot wound in the arm, 2 colonels, 3 lieutenant-colonels, 1 major, 12 captains, 1 quarter-master, 6 lieutenants, 8 ensigns, 2 adjutants, 3 surgeons, 62 sergeants, and 1250 corporals and private soldiers, were made prisoners. There were also taken 4 standards, 12 colours, 12 cannon, 1 mortar, and the military chest, in which there were not 6000 crowns. The soldiers got a considerable booty in the town, which was plundered.

In the Russian army, there had been killed, major-general Uxkul, the colonels Lohman and count de Balmaine; 1 major, 3 captains, and 8 lieutenants; 514 non-commissioned officers and soldiers. Of wounded, there were lieutenant-general Stoffeln, and major-general Albrecht; the colonels Manstein and Lewaschew; 2 lieutenant-colonels, 3 majors, 17 captains, 31 lieutenants, 15 ensigns, and 1765 subalterns and soldiers. The Russian army was, on the day of action, 9900 strong; the cavalry being composed of 2 regiments of dragoons, the infantry of 2 regiments of grenadiers, of 10 companies each, and 9 regiments of fusileers, of 8 companies each.

The generals, who commanded these troops, were marshal Lacy, general Keith; the lieutenant generals Stoffeln and Bachmetew; the major-generals Lieven, Fermor, Albrecht, and Uxkul.

The Swedes, including the garrison of Wilmanstrand, were 5256 strong, according to the roll of the regiments, which major-general Wrangel received on the very day of the action. I insert here a specification of the regiments, and of the number of men in each, because the Swedes have always maintained that they had not above 3500 men.

Infantry, regiment	Dalecarlia,	623
„ „	Surmaland,	681
„ „	Wester Bothnia,	594
„ „	Savalax,	876
„ „	Tavasthouse,	955
„ „	Wilbrand,	432
„ „	Kiminogor,	476
Artillery,		113
Dragoons of Carelia,		506
	Total,	5256

If the strength of the post which the Swedes occupied, and the disadvantage of the ground for the Russians, be considered, it is really astonishing that the former were beaten; it must, however, be owned, that they themselves contributed greatly to it by their own fault, in quitting the advantageous position they had taken up. The resistance they made was extremely obstinate, and served to augment their loss; for there remained of them above 3300 men dead on the field of battle. The fire, which was very fierce on both sides, lasted above four hours.

It was this action that was the ruin of lieutenant-general Buddenbrog, who two years afterwards lost his head. The heaviest article of his accusation, and that for which he was condemned to die, was his not having succoured general Wrangel. But if either of the generals ought to have been punished, it was Wrangel. For he, though nearest to the frontier, had sent out no reconnoitring parties, nor taken the least step to obtain intelligence of the march of the Russians; and but for the false alarm above-mentioned, which was a thing of mere chance, the capture of Wilmanstrand would have been simultaneous with the Swedish general receiving information of the Russians' arrival: whereas, had he but taken any the least precautions, he might have known twelve hours sooner that the

enemy was marching against Wilmanstrand, and consequently could have sent earlier notice to Buddenbrog, who then would have come to his succour before the Russians could have had time to beat him. Instead of which, he quitted his post to march to Wilmanstrand, without waiting the orders of his general. He got himself beaten, lost his army, was made prisoner, and was rewarded for these exploits with the admiration of the whole Swedish nation.* As for Buddenbrog, it was impossible for him to arrive at Wilmanstrand before the battle, his camp being at the distance of six Swedish miles, which are eighteen French leagues, from it. Wrangel, who was but three of those long miles off, and who, on the second of September, got under march at break of day, was yet not able to reach the town till the evening at sunset, with his troops greatly fatigued; so that Buddenbrog, who had double the way to go, could not by any possibility have come up to join him before the evening of the day of battle. If Wrangel could have avoided coming to action that day, the Russian army would have undoubtedly retreated the next. Marshal Lacy would never have hazarded an engagement with both those bodies of troops united.†

The night after the action, there was a very extraordinary accident in Buddenbrog's camp. The few dragoons who made their escape from the field had fled at full speed as far as his advanced guard. On the vidette challenging and receiving no answer he fired, when the whole guard, taking horse, fled to the camp; the fugitives

* This sentence is only found in the French edition.

† The true reason for which the senate took off Buddenbrog's head, and which was never given to the public, was his having engaged Sweden in the war, by the false report he made, when sent to Finland to examine the state of affairs there, as I have related above. (Note of the author.)

followed them and threw everything into such confusion, that the troops dispersed, leaving Buddenbrog alone with his officers in the camp; and they had a great difficulty to get their men together again by next day at noon.

In the evening, marshal Lacy put two regiments of foot into Wilmanstrand, under the command of major-general Fermor. The next day, the 4th of September, all the wounded prisoners were sent under an escort of dragoons, to Wyburg. The town of Wilmanstrand was then razed to the ground, and the inhabitants transported into Russia. This operation being finished, the army repassed the frontiers, and resumed the same camp which it had left to go against the enemy.

Great rejoicings were made for this victory at Petersburg, as so auspicious a beginning promised a happy progress in the war. The sequel will show that people were not mistaken; for this is the only battle the Swedes fought during the whole course of the war, in which they showed any courage.

The prisoners of war were transferred from Wyburg to Petersburg, where all imaginable civility was shown them. The officers at first were entertained at court, and, after that, distributed among the chief of the nobility; each of whom was obliged to take charge of one officer, to lodge him in his house, and provide for his wants. One foolish person spoilt all this. Count Wasabourg, lieutenant-colonel of the regiment of Surmaland, a man of small wit and restless tongue, not only indulged in abusive talk of the Russian army, but of the court itself. As soon as this was known, he and all the other prisoners were sent into the interior of the country, where they were distributed in the towns. But for this imprudence, they might have staid all the time of their captivity at Petersburg; where, as it was, none of them remained, except

general Wrangel and a captain Didron, who was his aide-de-camp.

The court had not been pleased that Lacy returned; they would have had him go on to Fredericsham, and defeat the Swedish troops in detail, the whole of them not being as yet assembled. But these things were not so easy to execute as was imagined at Petersburg. Lacy showed that he could not have undertaken more, without hazarding the loss of the whole corps under his command. The regiments were diminished, by death and wounds, to the extent of more than 2000 men. There were strong escorts necessary to bring away the prisoners, which weakened him still more; the other regiments, who were on their march to join the army, had not yet arrived; [any more than the three battalions of guards which had been detached from Petersburg;] besides, the troops had not bread left for above six days; [nor could the horses employed in carrying the wounded to Wyburg have well time to return soon enough;] so that the court was obliged to approve all that had been done. While at Petersburg, Lacy left the command of the army to general Keith.

The war, for the rest of the campaign, was entirely one of outposts, and the Russians had, in all encounters, the advantage of the Swedes. The Calmucks and Cossacks of the Don, who joined the army in September, made several incursions into the territory of the enemy, and there burned a great number of villages.

Count Loewenhaupt arrived in Finland about the middle of September, and having assembled the Swedish army, he reviewed it, and found it muster 23,700 men. Sweden had bought up a great quantity of grain in Holland, Prussia, and Pomerania, and the magazines were at length so well stored, that they might have served to supply, for some years together, an army much more

numerous than that of Sweden, if it only had been able to keep them. [But all these provisions were burnt, or fell into the hands of the Russians, as will hereafter be shown.] Several movements were made on both sides, but nothing considerable undertaken. The Russian army kept the field till the 8th of November, when general Keith sent the troops into winter-quarters, after being satisfied that the Swedish army had separated.

It was about this time that a part of the ministry advised the grand-duchess to declare herself empress, to prevent the inconveniences that might arise in case of the emperor's dying in early years, and before there were other princes born to succeed him. At first, nothing more had been intended than to put forth an edict, by which it should be provided, that daughters from the marriage of Prince Anthony Ulric with the grand-duchess should, in default of male issue, equally succeed to the empire of Russia; but the vice-chancellor Golofkin, and some others, were of opinion that the grand-duchess should herself, and in her own right, ascend the throne; as this would put an end to all cabals. The proposal was generally relished, and all the arrangements were ready for this declaration, which was to be made on the 18th of December, the birth-day of the grand-duchess; [but Princess Elizabeth disconcerted the whole project.] About this time died the Queen of Sweden, Ulrica Eleanora. Her death added yet more to the confusion in the country, and was one of the causes of the misfortunes which occurred during the campaign of 1742.*

General Keith came to Petersburg towards the end of November, to assist in the deliberations of the council of

* The last two sentences are only found in the French edition.

war, which assembled every day at the house of Count Osterman, in presence of the generalissimo.

Advices came to general Keith from Wyburg, that the Swedish army was reassembled; that count Loewenhaupt not having been able to do anything during the campaign, was designing to attempt an irruption into Russian Finland during the winter; that he had advanced as far as the frontier, and that his head-quarters were at Sekyerwy *; and, also, that he had published a manifesto, of which several copies were sent to general Keith. This manifesto set forth, that the intention of Sweden was by no means to make war against the Russian nation, but only to deliver it from the oppression and tyranny of foreigners, and to procure liberty for the Russians to choose any sovereign they might think eligible for them, &c.

The manifesto would not have produced any the least effect, had it not been for the measures which the Princess Elizabeth had already taken. At count Osterman's there were several arrangements agreed upon for preventing the progress of the enemy. All the regiments had orders to be in readiness for marching; general Keith left Petersburg on the 5th of December; and on the night between the 5th and 6th, the grand revolution took place, which put the Princess Elizabeth upon the throne.

I propose to relate this in detail, it being the most extraordinary event that happened during the whole time I was in Russia. But in order to give a clear conception of the circumstances of the revolution, I must go back to the very beginning.

The Princess Elizabeth, though far from satisfied during

* Sekijervi is on the coast road, about 80 miles west of Wyburg.

the whole reign of the Empress Anne, had remained quiet till the marriage of the Prince Anthony Ulric with the Princess Anne was concluded: then, indeed, she began to take some steps towards forming a party; in all which, however, there was such secresy maintained that nothing transpired while the empress lived. After her death, and the arrest of Biron, when the Princess Anne had declared herself grand-duchess and regent, she thought more seriously on the subject. Nevertheless, the first months passed in the most perfect harmony between the two princesses. They visited one another without ceremony, and lived together upon terms of familiarity. This did not last long. Ill-intentioned persons soon inspired both parties with reciprocal mistrust. The Princess Elizabeth became more reserved, and no longer went to the grand-duchess's unless upon days of ceremony, or occasions when she could not by any means avoid paying her a visit. The marriage which the court wanted to force her to contract with Prince Lewis of Brunswick was altogether against her inclination; and on this occasion those about her person pressed her much to deliver herself from the subjection in which she was held. Naturally prone to indolence and self-indulgence, she had too much dislike of business, and too much love of pleasure, to undertake willingly the least affair requiring any effort of mind. Had the court not tried to force her to marry Prince Lewis, she would probably have remained perfectly quiet. Acquainted with the value of liberty, and accustomed to indulge her caprices, the idea of subjection to a husband was intolerable to her.*

Her surgeon, Lestock, was of all her establishment the man that most strongly exhorted her to place herself on

* The last three sentences are only found in the French edition.

the throne; the marquis de la Chetardie, too, who had orders from his court to endeavour to excite intestine troubles in Russia, in order to hinder her from intermeddling with the rest of Europe, did not fail to labour at it with all possible assiduity. The princess being in want of money, (and it was not a little that would serve for the forming a party,) La Chetardie supplied her with as much as she required. He often had secret conferences with Lestock, to whom he gave useful counsels for conducting an affair of this consequence. Once engaged in this enterprise, the princess entered into a correspondence with Sweden, and it was partly upon the measures concerted with her that the court of Stockholm undertook the war.

At Petersburg the princess began with gaining over some soldiers of the Preobraschensky regiment of guards. The principal of them was one Grünstein, who from a bankrupt-merchant had taken on to be a soldier. This man engaged others, so that little by little there were as many as thirty grenadiers of the guards got to take part in the plot.

Count Osterman, who had spies everywhere, was informed that the Princess Elizabeth was hatching something against the regency. Lestock, the most giddy man alive and the least capable of keeping a secret, had often said in a coffee-house, before a number of people, that there would soon be seen great changes in Petersburg. The minister did not fail to give notice of all this to the grand-duchess, who only laughed at him, and attached not the least credit to all he said to her upon the subject. At length, information coming from various quarters, and even being sent from other countries, the matter grew to give the Princess Anne some uneasiness. She began to apprehend she might be in danger, but took no

measures to avoid it, which she might have done the more easily, as the Princess Elizabeth, whether from timidity or indolence, gave her time to frustrate her measures; for, though the latter was determined to venture for the throne, still, instead of hastening the execution of her design, she was always finding some pretext or other for deferring it from time to time. Her last resolution had been, not to undertake anything till the 6th of January, (old style) which is twelfth-day, when all the regiments that are in garrison at Petersburg are drawn up in parade on the ice of the Neva. She proposed then to go there, and at the head of the Preobraschensky regiment, to harangue it; and as there were some in it devoted to her, she hoped the rest would not fail of joining them; and that then, when the whole regiment should have declared for her, the other troops would make no difficulty of following their example.

This project would certainly have failed, or at least have caused a great effusion of blood. Fortunately for her, she was obliged to hasten the enterprise; several circumstances determining her to a final resolution sooner than she had intended. In the first place, she had learnt that the grand-duchess had resolved to declare herself empress; upon which, all those who were attached to her advised her not to wait for the execution of that design, representing to her that she would then find more, even if not insuperable, difficulties. Secondly, upon the notice which the court had received of the march of count Loewenhaupt, three battalions of the guards had orders to hold themselves in readiness for marching to Wyburg, to join the army. Now, many of those who were in the interest of the princess, were to make part of that detachment. They went to her, and told her, that it was absolutely necessary for her to hasten the execution of

her project, for that those who were the most devoted to her would be gone upon service in the campaign, and that those who remained might be stricken with fear, which would drive them to inform the government of the whole affair.

Besides all this, an imprudence which induced the regent Anne to tax the Princess Elizabeth with her secret conferences with the marquis de la Chetardie, greatly contributed to confirm her resolution. It was on the 4th of December, a court-day, that the grand-duchess took the Princess Elizabeth aside, and told her, that she had received several intimations concerning her conduct, and that her surgeon had frequent conferences with the French minister, and was concocting treasonable designs against the reigning family; that hitherto, she (the grand-duchess) had not chosen to give credit to these informations; but that, if they continued, she should be obliged to have Lestock arrested, and that means would be used to force him to confess the truth. The princess stood out this conversation very well. She protested to the grand-duchess, that she had never had a thought of undertaking any the least thing against her or her son; that she had too much religion to break the oath she had taken; that all these calumnies proceeded from enemies, who wanted to make her unhappy; that Lestock had never set his foot in M. de la Chetardie's house, (which was true, for there had been always a third place chosen for their interviews); that however, the grand-duchess might, if she pleased, have Lestock arrested, which would but serve the more to prove her guiltless. She shed abundance of tears at the time of this protestation, and succeeded so well in establishing the opinion of her innocence, that the grand-duchess (who also wept much) believed her to have been altogether wrongfully accused.

As soon as the princess was returned home, she informed Lestock of her conversation with the grand-duchess. This confidant of hers would fain have proceeded that very night to the prevention of the imminent danger that hung over the heads both of the princess and himself. But as all the soldiers who were concerned in the plot were dispersed in their quarters, and had no previous notice of anything, the affair was deferred till the following night.

The next morning, when Lestock waited as usual upon the princess, he presented a card to her; on one side of which there was drawn with a pencil, the princess Elizabeth with an imperial crown on her head; and on the reverse of it, the same princess, with a nun's veil, surrounded by racks and gibbets; with this he said to her: "Your highness must now absolutely choose one of these two things, to be empress, or to be put into a convent, and to see your faithful servants perish under tortures." He exhorted her then not to delay a moment; and, accordingly, the resolution was taken to proceed to extremities that very night. Lestock did not fail to acquaint with the fact all who were of their party. At midnight, the princess, accompanied by Woronzow and Lestock, repaired to the barracks of the grenadiers of the Preobraschenski regiment, thirty of whom were, as has been observed, personally in the plot. These assembled others to the number of 300, non-commissioned officers and privates. The princess, in a few words, declared her intention to them, and asked their assistance. They all, to a man, consented to devote themselves to her. Their first step was to seize the officer of the grenadiers, who lay in the barracks; — his name was Grews, and he was a Scotchman; — after which they took an oath of fidelity to the princess. She then put herself at their head,

and marching straight to the winter-palace, entered, with part of those that followed her, into the guard-rooms, without meeting any the least resistance. There she told the officers the reason of her coming. They made no show of opposition, and left her to act as she pleased. Sentinels were then posted at all the doors and avenues. Lestock and Woronzow penetrated with a detachment of grenadiers into the apartments of the grand-duchess, and made prisoners of her and her husband, her children, and the favourite, that was lodged near them.* As soon as this was done, several detachments were sent to seize marshal Munich, his son, who was lord steward of the

* In the place of the last sentence the editor of the French edition gives the following account, as *from other sources than Manstein.*

"Lestock and Woronzow remained with the princess, while thirty grenadiers were ordered to go up stairs to the apartments of the ducal family, and arrest them. The soldiers entering tumultuously into the chamber where the duke and grand-duchess were in bed, ordered the latter, in the name of Elizabeth, to get up and follow them. The princess, seized with terror, hastily covered herself with some articles of dress to keep off the cold, and while they carried her off, asked for permission to speak to her aunt. This was refused her. All this time the Prince Antony Ulric, sitting up in bed, abandoned to all the horror of his lot, saw his wife dragged off by common soldiers. Two grenadiers pulled him out, rolled him up in the coverlid, with his feet hanging out, and carried him in this condition down stairs. There they put him into a sledge and covered him with a pelisse. After this the soldiers passed into the room where the infant Iwan was sleeping. Having orders not to wake him, they waited in silence around the cradle. At the end of an hour he woke, and each tried to be the one to seize him. The poor child cried at the sight of the soldiers, and his nurse, who slept near, ran on hearing his screams, and took him trembling with terror in her arms; and the grenadiers carried off nurse and child together. The little Princess Catherine, and mademoiselle de Mengden, were also arrested and carried off. All these prisoners, escorted by soldiers, were carried in sledges to the palace of the Princess Elizabeth, and kept in separate rooms. That princess returning home about three in the morning, at once sent word of the success of her attempt to M. de la Chetardie, who, not knowing anything of it, was at the same time surprised and delighted."

household to the grand-duchess, count Osterman, count Golofkin, count Loewenwolde, baron Mengden, and some other persons of less consequence. All these prisoners were carried to the palace of the princess. She sent Lestock to marshal Lacy, to acquaint him with what she had done, and to tell him that he had nothing to fear; ordering him at the same time to come to her directly.

The senate, and all the grandees of the empire, were convened at the palace of the new empress; and, at break of day, all the troops were assembled before it, where, after the declaration to them that the Princess Elizabeth had seated herself on the throne of her father, the oath of fidelity was tendered to them, and taken without any difficulty being made, so that everything was presently in as great tranquillity as before.

The same day, the empress quitted the house in which she had resided till then, and took possession of the imperial palace.

After the revolution by which the duke of Courland fell, every one was delighted; not a sound but of joy was heard in the streets. Very different was it upon this occasion; upon every face might be seen consternation depicted; every one was in fear either for himself or some member of his family, and complete confidence was not restored till some days afterwards. It is certain that if in the course of the first forty-eight hours, a man of resolution had been found to put himself at the head of some troops, he might have dethroned the new empress.*

There can hardly be any one who, in reading the account of this event, will fail to be astonished at the mistakes committed on both sides. Without the total blindness of the grand-duchess, the attempt must have miscarried.

* The last three sentences are only found in the French edition.

I have mentioned, that she had repeated information sent her even from foreign countries. Count Osterman one day had himself carried to her, and acquainted her with the secret conferences of La Chetardie and Lestock. Instead of an answer to the purpose of what he was telling her, she showed him a new frock she had just had made for the little emperor. The very same evening that she had the explanation above related with the Princess Elizabeth, the marquis de Botta spoke to her as follows: "Your "imperial highness has neglected assisting the queen my "mistress, notwithstanding the alliance between the two "courts; but as there is now no remedy for that *, I hope "that, with the assistance of God, and of our other allies, "we shall get out of our difficulties: but at least, madam, "do not at this moment neglect taking care of yourself. "You are on the brink of a precipice. In the name of "God! save yourself! save the emperor! save your "husband!"

All these exhortations did not produce any effect, nor did the grand-duchess make the least move to secure her throne. Her imprudence went still farther. Her husband told her, the night before the revolution, that he had certain information concerning the conduct of the Princess Elizabeth; that he was going to give orders to post picquets in the streets, and to have Lestock taken up; but the grand-duchess hindered him, by her answer, that she would vouch for the innocence of the princess. Her reasons were, that when she spoke to her of her conferences with La Chetardie, she had not in the least changed countenance, but had wept bitterly. She has had time to repent of her credulity.†

* This seems to be an allusion to the effect of the treaty with Prussia mentioned in p. 287.

† The last sentence is only found in the French edition.

The false steps on the side of the Princess Elizabeth were not less numerous. Lestock had talked in several places, and before different people, of a great change that was soon to take place. The rest of her party were not more trustworthy; the most of them were but soldiers of the guard, and consequently of the lower classes,—men of little power of reticence in an affair of this importance. Even the princess herself did many things for which she would have been arrested under the reign of the Empress Anne. She often took a walk in the barracks of the guards; nay, she suffered some of the common soldiers to get behind her open sledge, and talk familiarly to her as she was drawn along in it through the streets of Petersburg. She had every day some grenadiers in her palace, and upon all occasions affected to make herself popular. But a fatal blindness prevailed with Anne and her party, Providence having decided that this attempt should succeed.

On the day of the revolution, the new empress declared by a manifesto, that she had ascended her father's throne, in virtue of her hereditary right, and, as the lawful sovereign, had caused the usurpers to be seized.

Three days afterwards, another manifesto was published, intended to prove her having an unquestionable title to the imperial crown. It was also specified therein, that as neither the Princess Anne nor her husband had any right to the throne of Russia, they should be sent back, with their family, to Germany. They were made to leave Petersburg with all their domestics, under an escort of guards commanded by general Soltikoff, who had been at the head of the police in the time of the Empress Anne; but they got no farther than Riga, where they were arrested and imprisoned in the citadel for a year and a half. From thence they were transferred to the

fort of Dünamunde; and at length, instead of being permitted to go to Germany, they were brought back into Russia, and imprisoned, first at Oranienburg, a town built by prince Menzikoff, afterwards at Kolmogori, a place situated in one of the islands of the Dwina, eighty versts from Archangel. This is the town in which * the grand-duchess died in childbed, in the month of March, 1746. Her body was brought to Petersburg, and buried in the convent of St. Alexander Newsky.

The place where the Prince Anthony Ulric and the young emperor are now detained prisoners is not known. Some say that the father and son are in the same place, and that by order of the court a good education is given to the young prince.† Others will have

* The words "and imprisoned . . . . in which" are only found in the French edition.

† This unfortunate youth, whose only crime was his birth and title to the imperial throne, was murdered at Schlüsselburg in the year 1764, in consequence of an attempt in his favour by one Mirawitz, a Russian officer, to which he was neither accused nor suspected of being privy. (Note of the first English editor.)

The following account is given by Tannenberg, a professed apologist of the Russian court, in his life of Catherine II. The Empress Elizabeth had, *with tears in her eyes*, signed a state paper, by which the custody of the prince Iwan at Schlüsselburg was made over to two staff-officers, with the peremptory order, that if any revolt should take place with a view to set the prince on the throne of Russia, they should on no account relinquish their hold upon his person, but retain possession of him alive or dead. Whether before or after the signature of this document Tannenberg does not say, but, before the death of Elizabeth, some of her friends advised her to make the young prince her husband, and thus preclude all possibility of an adverse claim. His education had been entirely neglected, and, as appeared on the occasion of a visit which Peter III. paid him subsequently, in manners and appearance he was undistinguishable from the lowest of the people. He was brought up from Schlüsselburg to Petersburg,—himself entirely ignorant of the reason,—to give Elizabeth an opportunity of deciding whether to follow the advice of her friends. She decided not to do so, and accordingly the poor creature was sent back to his prison. Peter

it, that he is separated from his father, and in a convent, where he is ill enough brought up. Notwithstanding, there is no reason he should not some day or other ascend the throne, to which he has as much right as the reigning empress, in virtue of a law of Peter I., passed in the year 1722, with the concurrence of the States, which provides that the reigning sovereign should have the power of naming as his successor the individual he should judge most worthy of the throne. This power of course belonged equally to the Princess Anne.*

From all that I have said of the Princess Anne, it will not be difficult to define her character. She was extremely capricious, passionate, and indolent; [hating business and] irresolute in trifles, as well as in affairs of the greatest importance. She had a great deal of the humour of her father, the duke Charles Leopold of Mecklenburg, except that she was not inclined to cruelty. During the year of her regency, she governed with mildness. She loved to do good, but did not know how to do it properly. Her favourite † possessed her whole confidence, and regulated her manner of life just as she pleased. Her ministers and the men of parts were

III., after the death of Elizabeth, determined to release Iwan from his close custody, give him an education, and altogether improve his condition, but his own catastrophe prevented the execution of the design. Soon afterwards, an officer of the regiment quartered at Schlüsselburg, named Basilius Mirawitz, entered into a conspiracy, with about 100 others, to obtain possession of Iwan's person, and set him on the throne; and they succeeded in bursting into the chamber where he was. On this, the two grenadiers, fearing that they should not be able to secure the prince, stabbed him. Immediately afterwards, the governor of the fortress brought up an overwhelming force, and crushed the rioters. Mirawitz was executed, and met his end with great fortitude.

* The last two sentences are only found in the French edition.

† *i. e.* Mademoiselle de Mengden.

hardly listened to. In short, she possessed none of the requisite qualities for governing so great an empire in a time of difficulty. She had always a melancholy and rather a fretful air, which might proceed from the vexations she had suffered from the duke of Courland during the reign of the Empress Anne. She was handsome, had a very pretty figure, and spoke several languages with fluency.

As to the prince, her husband, he united the best heart imaginable, with all the courage that could have been wished in military affairs; but he was too timid and too embarrassed in affairs of state. He had come very young into Russia, where he had undergone a thousand vexations at the hands of the duke of Courland, who did not like him, and who often treated him very harshly. This hatred of the duke's proceeded from his considering him as the only obstacle to the elevation of his own family; for as soon as he was elected duke of Courland, he formed the project of making the Princess Anne marry his eldest son. However, notwithstanding all the ascendance he had over the empress, he never could bring her to consent to that.

Unhappily for Prince Ulric his education was not finished when he came to Petersburg; and there were placed immediately about his person two individuals, than whom no worse could have been selected. His first tutor was a Courlander, M. Keyseling. Although of the meanest capacity, intrigue was his passion; and he was suspected of having acted for some time in the capacity of a spy for the duke of Courland. The second was M. de Homburg, a lieutenant-colonel in the Brunswick army. Brought up in the camp, he would have made an excellent dragoon officer, but he had not suitable qualities for a court. He was tiresome, awkward, reserved, and inclined

to suspect persons, without possessing sufficient discernment to satisfy himself whether his suspicions were well or ill founded. No one will believe that such men were capable of inspiring a young prince with elevated sentiments.*

Prince Lewis of Brunswick, who was still at Petersburg at the time of the revolution, and who had an apartment in the palace, was also arrested in his chamber. Some hours afterwards, the empress withdrew the guard; and he had a lodging assigned him in the house which the grand-duchess had given to her favourite, [where there had been building going on for the whole preceding summer and autumn. There was but one room in it that could be warmed, which he was obliged to occupy, and to rest contented with it.] He remained at Petersburg till March 1742, when he returned to Germany. He had a guard allowed him by way of honour, but in reality to observe who came to see him. The foreign ministers visited him. It is very likely that if this prince, who was of an active and resolute spirit, had been in his brother's place, things would have gone differently.†

Before I proceed to speak of other affairs that came on after the revolution, I will first mention what happened with regard to the principal prisoners on that occasion. There was a commission appointed which was constituted of several senators, and others of the Russian nobility, to prepare and conduct their trial. They were accused of various crimes which were pure inventions. Among others, it was imputed to count Osterman, that he had contributed, by his cabals, to the election of the Empress Anne, and that he had suppressed the will of the

* This paragraph is only found in the French edition.

† The last sentence is only found in the French edition.

Empress Catherine,—two charges equally false; for at that time Osterman acted the sick man, and never appeared at the council, for fear of compromising himself by giving his opinion. It was notorious that the Princess Elizabeth had been excluded by the senate, composed of all the grandees of the nation. Besides, the will of the Empress Catherine was known to all the world. It had been published at her death, and printed among the public documents at the time. Count Munich also was charged with having told the soldiers, at the time of his seizing on the duke of Courland, that it was in order to place the Princess Elizabeth on the throne. Both the one and the other could easily have disproved these accusations, had their defence been listened to; but their condemnation was determined on. As for Munich, care had been taken to suborn witnesses from among the common soldiers who had been employed, and to abstain from asking any questions of the officers who had been on guard, or of his first aide-de-camp. Seeing the way things were going, the marshal told the attorney-general to draw up such replies as he wished to elicit from him, and that he would sign them. They took him at his word; and that was the kind of trial he had.

The true crime of all these prisoners was, the having incurred the displeasure of the new empress, and too faithfully served the Princess Anne. Besides, Elizabeth had promised those who assisted her to the throne, that she would deliver them from the foreigners, and enrich them with their spoils; so that she was obliged to condemn those who had been the highest promoted, and were richest.

The sentence come to was, that count Osterman should be broken alive upon the wheel; that marshal Munich should be quartered; that count Golofkin, count Loe-

wenwolde, and baron Mengden should be beheaded. The empress pardoned them all, as to their lives; but they were banished into different parts of Siberia. Count Osterman did not receive his pardon till he was on the scaffold, with his head on the block. The court on this occasion caused a manifesto to be published in which all the crimes of which they were accused were specified.* The gravest of them, even had they been made out, did not deserve punishments of that nature. Munich, Osterman, and Loewenwolde bore their misfortunes with fortitude, but the others exhibited much weakness. Some of these persons played so important a part on the world's stage, that I feel I ought to say something of their characters, and give a short notice of the principal events of their lives.

Burckardt Christopher count Munich offers a real contrast of good and bad qualities within himself. In turn refined and rude, polished and passionate, nothing is so easy for him as to gain the hearts of all who have any thing to do with him; but often, a minute afterwards, he will treat them in so harsh a way, as to compel them, so to speak, to hate him. On some occasions he has exhibited an extreme generosity; on others, a sordid avarice. There is not another man in the world of so high a soul, and yet he has been guilty of paltry acts. His dominating vice is pride. Devoured by an ambition beyond all bounds, he sacrifices everything in the world to gratify it. What he best loves is his own interest; when that is safe, any one who understands how to enter into his views and flatter him, is sure to be well received. One of the best engineers in Europe, he is at the same time one of

* From here to the words "in a single sitting," (page 337.) is only found in the French edition. The same is the case with the passage: "two charges equally false . . . . . at the time," (p. 330.) and that: "but their condemnation . . . . kind of trial he had," (p. 330.)

the greatest generals of his age. His enterprises have often been rash, but he has not the more for that been taught the limits of possibility; for everything that he undertook, however difficult, has always succeeded. Of a tall and imposing figure, and a robust and vigorous constitution, he looks born a general; no labours have ever been able to check his course. For a civil minister he had few natural qualifications; yet he left no stone unturned to get into the cabinet, and by dint of intrigue succeeded. His success in this was the source of his misfortunes. To extract the greatest secrets from him, it was only necessary to thwart him and put him in a passion.

As for his origin, he was a gentleman of ancient family, originally of Oldenburg. He was born on the 9th of May 1683. His father, who was a lieutenant-colonel in the service of Denmark, gave him a good education. After having sent him to travel in France, he placed him in the year 1700 in the service of Hesse, as captain of infantry. During the war of the Succession, he went through all the campaigns of Italy and Flanders with those troops, and after the battle of Malplaquet, in which he highly distinguished himself, was made lieutenant-colonel. At the affair of Denain he was made prisoner and taken to Cambray, where he made the acquaintance of the celebrated Fenelon, archbishop of that city. He was very fond of talking of that time, and of expressing his veneration for that distinguished prelate, of whom he had several characteristic anecdotes. Peace having been made with France in 1713, he entered the service of Augustus II. king of Poland, with the rank of colonel, and soon afterwards received the step of major-general, with the command of the Polish guards. The king, who appreciated his merits, was very fond of him; but count Fleming, who would allow no infringement of his own

monopoly of the royal favour, became so jealous of Munich, and did him so many ill turns, that he found it best to tender his resignation in the year 1718. His intention was to enter the service of Sweden; but Charles XII. having been killed in Norway, he went into that of Russia, by the recommendation of prince Dolgorouki. He soon gained the favour of Peter I., and kept it until the death of that monarch. During the reigns of Catherine and Peter II. he was much crossed by prince Menzikoff, who had no love whatever for him. With the favourite's disgrace his fortunes rose. Always accustomed to an active and laborious life, he could not remain idle, even in his exile; but during that time has drawn up and submitted to the senate several plans for the improvement of the provinces of Russia. His amusement is to teach mathematics to some children, that have been put into his hands. The governors of the towns in Siberia are as much afraid of him as if he were governor-general of the province. As soon as ever he hears of any malversation on their part, he writes to them and threatens them to give information on the subject to the court. To sum up his character, it may be said with truth that everything about him is great. His virtues and his vices equally tend to produce an extraordinary man.

The only son of count Munich was involved in his father's disgrace. All possible pains was taken to find something in him to punish; but his enemies were denied this satisfaction. His judges were compelled to acquit him; but as they were determined to put him in the wrong somehow or other, his sentence set forth that as he had been aware of the intention of the Princess Anne to declare herself empress, he should be deprived of the riband of St. Alexander, and his property in Livonia be exchanged for

another situated within the limits of Russia. This other came down at last to a money pension of 1200 roubles from the court, with orders to settle himself at Wologda, a town about eighty leagues from Moscow, where there are a great number of Dutch merchants settled. He has none of his father's brilliant genius, but in other respects he possesses every one of his good qualities without a single one of the bad. With a sound understanding and mild temper, he unites an honesty which nothing can shake, and he possesses capacity enough to distinguish himself as the member of a government. He would unquestionably have been employed, if the reign of the Princess Anne had continued. He entered the public service as secretary to the embassy at the congress of Soisson. On his return to Petersburg, he got a place at court as gentleman of the chamber to the empress, some years afterwards was made chamberlain, and upon the grand-duchess taking upon herself the regency, he became steward of the household.

Count Osterman was beyond question one of the greatest ministers of his age. He thoroughly fathomed the interests of all the courts of Europe. Ready in conception, and of unclouded understanding, he is withal extremely industrious and extremely rapid, and so incorruptible, that he never accepted the least present from any foreign court, without being absolutely commanded by his own to do so. On the other hand, he was extremely distrustful, often carrying suspicion to an excess. In the place which he occupied, he would neither endure superior nor equal, unless their abilities were palpably inferior to his own. His colleagues in the cabinet were never satisfied with him: he wanted to be the master mind in everything, while the rest were only to approve and sign. In perilous matters, where his office made it

incumbent that he should give his opinion, he pretended to be ill, that he might avoid compromising himself; and by means of this artifice, he kept his position during six reigns. He had so strange a way of talking, that very few persons could ever boast they had succeeded in comprehending him. Very often foreign ministers, after a conversation of two hours with him, found on leaving his room that they knew nothing more than when they entered. All that he said, and all that he wrote, could be taken two ways. A master in subtlety and dissimulation, he had perfect command over his passions, and could even shed tears when the occasion required so great a display of feeling. He never looked any one in the face, and lest his eyes should betray him, he had acquired the art of rendering them immovable.

His domestic life was likewise most extraordinary. He carried the filthy habits of the Russians and the Poles one stage further. His apartments were abominably furnished, and his servants dressed like beggars. The plate he used every day looked like lead, it was so dull; and his table was never decently furnished, except on state occasions. The clothes he wore, especially in the last years when he never left his room except to sit down to dinner, were positively disgusting from their dirty condition.

He was son of John Conrad Osterman, pastor of Bockum, in Westphalia. Cornelius Cruys, the admiral of Peter I., took him into his service at Amsterdam in the capacity of secretary, and brought him to Russia about the year 1704. Some years afterwards, Peter I., being on board the admiral's ship, and wishing to dispatch some business, asked Cruys if he had any trustworthy person to draw up despatches. The admiral presented young Osterman to him, who had made himself so thoroughly master of Russian, that he spoke it like his

mother-tongue; and the emperor, pleased with the way he did his work, and observing his talents, took him to be about his own person, made him his private secretary, and treated him confidentially. He made use of him in the most important matters, and raised him in the course of a few years to the highest posts in the empire. That prince, who had so consummate a knowledge of men, said of Osterman, that he never made a single mistake in the business of the cabinet. After the fall of baron Schafirow, he was made vice-chancellor, and kept this post until the disgrace of the duke of Courland, when he was made high-admiral. Peter I. made him marry a Russian lady of the family of Streschnef, one of the most ancient in the country; and his wife brought him a large fortune, although in other respects a very worthless woman. He had two sons and a daughter by her. The sons, who had been captains in the guards in the time of the Princess Anne,— a position which gave them the rank of lieutenant-colonel,—were made simple captains in infantry regiments of the line; and the daughter, some time after her father's disgrace, married M. Tolstoi, a lieutenant-colonel in the artillery.*

The family from which count Loewenwolde derives his origin, is one of the first in Livonia. During the lifetime of Peter I., he entered the service of the Empress Catharine as gentleman of the chamber. After the death of the emperor, he was made chamberlain; and as he was young, and had a handsome face and fine figure, the favour of that princess for him knew no limits. The Empress Anne made him grand marshal of the court, and

* Nothing more is known of count Osterman, than that he died in exile about the year 1747, at Berosowa, a little town in Siberia, the same place where prince Menzikoff also died. After his death, his widow was allowed to return, and her husband's property restored to her. (Note of the French editor.)

inspector of the revenues of the salt mines. She was only cognisant of his good qualities; and he appeared to have been expressly made for the post he filled. Full of sweetness and courtesy, he prepossessed every one in his favour, by his engaging manners. Under the Empress Anne he never mixed himself up in any public matter which was not his special business. It would have been well for him had he pursued the same course under the regency; but he was drawn in against his will. The princess having consulted him on several political matters, he was obliged to give his advice. As his opinion had been that the grand-duchess should declare herself empress, he was involved in her misfortune, and will probably end his life in exile. His worst fault was his addiction to play; by which he came to grief, having at times lost very large sums at *lansquenet* in a single sitting.

Of a great number of other exiles, I will say nothing else than that all their fortunes, except what their wives had brought them, were confiscated to the profit of the court, which bestowed them upon others; who will in all probability, like their predecessors, live to lose them again.* One thing which must not be omitted, is, that the option had been given to these ladies of going to settle upon their own estates, and not following their husbands into banishment; but not one of them would avail herself of the liberty.

The first care of the empress, after getting possession of the imperial power, was to reward those who had served her in this revolution. She began with her favourite, Rasoumowsky, who was declared chamberlain at her coronation some months after. She raised him to the post of grand-master of the hunt, made him a count, and gave

* The last clause is only found in the French edition.

him the blue riband. Woronzow, the two brothers Schowalow, and Balck, who had served the princess in quality of gentlemen of the chamber, were also made chamberlains.

She gazetted Lestock actual privy-counsellor, first court-physician, and president of the college of physicians. The whole company of grenadiers of the Preobraschensky regiment were ennobled and promoted. The private men had the rank of lieutenants, the corporals that of majors, the armourers and quarter-masters* that of lieutenant-colonels, and the sergeants that of colonels of the army. It was called the company of the body-guard. Her majesty declared herself the captain of it; the prince of Hesse Homburg lieutenant-captain; Rasoumowsky and Woronzow first lieutenants, with the rank of lieutenant-generals; and the Schowalows lieutenants, with the rank of major-generals. Grünstein was made adjutant of this company, with the title of brigadier. He did not long keep his ground; for being accustomed to the life of a private soldier, his head was too weak to bear a higher fortune, and growing giddy with his preferment, he was guilty of all kind of insolence, broke out into disrespect to the empress herself and her favourite, and ended with undergoing the knout, and being banished to the estate which the empress had given him when she promoted him.

This company of the body-guard committed all imaginable excesses for the first few months that the empress remained at Petersburg. The newly promoted officers frequented all the lowest public-houses, got drunk every day, and wallowed in the streets. They entered the houses of the highest of the nobility, demanding money with threats, and took away whatever they liked without ceremony. There was no keeping within bounds men

* Les capitaines d'armes et les fouriers.

who having been all their lifetime used to a discipline of blows, were unable at once to familiarise themselves to a milder treatment. It must be the work of much time to reduce them to good manners. I do not know whether the success is complete; but the most unruly of them were removed from the corps, and placed as officers in other regiments of the army, where there were many vacancies. An admirable expedient this for procuring superior officers.

There were also several other promotions, and a great number of blue ribbons bestowed. Bestuchef had one. He had, as I have above observed, been arrested at the same time with the duke of Courland. Having cleared himself before the commissioners, he was released, but had no employment during the regency of the Princess Anne. The Empress gave him the place of vice-chancellor.

As the names of the other great men who were the recipients of her favour are mostly unknown to the world, I shall dispense with speaking of them, and confine myself to a few who for some time played an important part at the court of Petersburg, such as a Rasoumowski, a Bestuchef, a Woronzow, a Lestock, and a prince of Hesse Homburg.

Count Rasoumowski must have little thought, when he first came to Petersburg, that he should one day rise to the rank he did. He is the son of a peasant near the town of Izioum in the Ukraine, and when a boy at school was distinguished for his fine voice. As in the Russian religious system, every church is provided with a choir to sing the mass, Rasoumowski was placed among the children so employed in one of the churches. A colonel, named Wischnowski, thinking well of his physiognomy and attracted by his sweet voice, took him into

his service, and having brought him to Petersburg, recommended him to count Loewenwolde, who made him a chorister in the imperial chapel. He remained some years in the service of the court. The Princess Elizabeth having been struck by his good looks, begged him from M. Loewenwolde, who accordingly allowed him to leave. The princess made him superintendent over one of her estates, and very soon he became the favourite officer of her whole establishment. When she mounted the throne she raised him to the highest places in the empire, and having become scrupulous with advancing years, she secretly married him, under the influence of the clergy about her person, whom Rasoumowski contrived to win over to his interests.

Alexis count Bestuchef Riumin is sprung from an ancient Russian family. On his entrance into the service of the court, he was made gentleman of the chamber to the Princess Anne, duchess of Courland; and she, on becoming empress, sent him as resident to Hamburg. After this, he was sent with the rank of minister to different courts, and finally to that of Copenhagen. While he was about the person of the duchess of Courland, he formed a close friendship with M. Biron, who in spite of some just right to complain of Bestuchef, always favoured his interests. On the fall of Walinski, he was made a cabinet minister; but after the revolution which was fatal to the duke of Courland, he was arrested. On clearing himself he was released, without however being employed. When the Empress Elizabeth ascended the throne, she gave him the place of vice-chancellor in the room of count Golofkin, and after the death of Prince Czerkaski named him high-chancellor. He does not want for perception, and by the help of long routine has come to understand business very well, being withal

very industrious. But, on the other hand, he is of an arrogant, avaricious, dissolute, and treacherous character; and so vindictive that he never forgave a single person who ever hurt his pride, or trenched on his interest. This is the man who for eleven years has been the despotic governor of Russia. The empress, who is to the last degree lazy, is very glad to find any one willing to take upon himself the burden of public business. Moreover she has so high an idea of the capacity of this minister, that she cannot conceive the possibility of finding a human being to succeed him. At the same time, his imperious temper has raised him up many enemies, who do not let slip any opportunity of blackening him in her opinion. Up to the present time they have not succeeded, although several times he has been on the brink of ruin; and perhaps they will, in the end, find the favourable moment.*

* M. Manstein, knowing Russia so well as he did, might well predict the fall of such a minister as Bestuchef. He was the open enemy of the house of Brandenburg, the principal author of the treaty of alliance between the courts of Vienna and Petersburg, and one of the prime movers of the last war against the king of Prussia, that ruinous contest, which cost Russia more than 300,000 men, and 30,000,000 roubles. Aware that the grand-duke Peter Feodorowitz disliked him, and was a great partisan of the king of Prussia, he formed the idea of excluding him from the succession in order to place on the throne his son, the prince Paul Petrowitz, under the guardianship of his mother (the present Catherine II.). This false step hastened his fall. Every one knows that the Russian army under count Apraxin, after defeating that of Prussia commanded by general Lewald, returned to Russia. The empress, on her recovery from a dangerous malady, asked after the condition of her army, and learnt that her general had retreated. On enquiry into the matter, it appeared that Apraxin had returned in consequence of a letter from Bestuchef, who believing the empress to be at the point of death, wanted the army to assist him in the execution of his project. Being accused before the empress by the chamberlain Brockdorf, on the strength of these facts, he was arrested and dismissed from his post in the month of February 1758. The follow-

Count Woronzow is also of a good Russian family. He entered the service of the Princess Elizabeth as gentleman of the chamber; and a short time before the revolution married the countess Skavronski, a cousin-german of the princess, about whose person she was as a maid of honour. He was made a count at the coronation of the empress. He is a very excellent person, but not having been well educated, he does not possess the least knowledge of political matters. Nevertheless after the death of Prince Czerkaski he was made vice-chancellor. Time will decide whether he will be able to keep his position; for he has now for several years been on bad terms with the high-chancellor.

Armand, Count Lestock, was born at Hanover on the 29th of April, 1692, of a French refugee family. He came to Russia in the year 1713, and entered into the service of the Emperor Peter I. The Empress Catherine I. appointed him surgeon to her daughter the Princess Elizabeth, who, delighted with his frank and open manner, soon accorded her favour and confidence to him. He showed himself worthy of it by the most ardent zeal for her interests; for it was not his fault that she was not empress on the death of Peter II. In the revolution which placed Elizabeth on the throne, his ardour and his success procured oblivion for his folly and rashness. Immediately on the princess being declared empress, he petitioned her to reward his service by a sum of money,

ing year he was sent in exile to Goretowo, a small town 120 versts from Moscow, where, after a good deal of difficulty being made, he was allowed to build himself a house. In the ukase which condemns him, he is spoken of in general terms as a rogue, a traitor, and hardened offender. He remained in exile until the present empress ascended the throne; but she recalled him on July 3rd, 1762, and restored him to all his honours. He died April 10th, 1766. (Note of the French editor.)

and let him retire out of the country. This the empress absolutely refused; she told him his services were above all reward, but that she could not deny herself the pleasure of raising him to high rank. "That is exactly what I fear madam," replied Lestock. "My elevation will be sure to bring numbers of enemies about me, who will do me evil turns with your majesty; and the end of it will be that I shall be banished." The empress protested that it was impossible that any one should ever blacken him in her eyes, and that she was too well acquainted with his zeal and attachment to believe the least thing against him. Accordingly Lestock allowed himself to be persuaded. The empress made him her first physician, and an actual privy councillor, with the title of Excellency. In 1744 he was made a count of the Roman empire by the Emperor Charles VII. At first he would not mix himself up with anything foreign to his profession; but the empress having often talked to him on very important matters, he imbibed a taste for politics, and would always give his opinion on them. He even claimed to be admitted to the grand council of state in virtue of his rank of actual privy-councillor; but in this attempt he failed. It was he who solicited the empress in favour of count Bestuchef, to induce her to give him the place of vice-chancellor. She granted his request, but said "Lestock, I am afraid you are providing a rod for your own back." In fact Bestuchef soon became a mortal enemy of Lestock, a result to which the latter contributed a great deal by his acts of thoughtlessness, and by his attachment to France and the allies of France. The chancellor did everything he could to remove him from the court, but was several years before he succeeded. At last Lestock having driven the other to extremities by his jests and outrageous talk, even in the imperial presence, found that he had

exhausted the favour of his mistress. The very day he was arrested, he had a long explanation with the empress, and she assured him afresh of her favour and protection; but a few hours afterwards count Apraxin, at the head of a detachment, arrested him in his own hotel, on the 13th of November 1748. The same count Apraxin, a creature of Bestuchef's, and the accuser of Lestock, was president of the commission appointed to try him, and the person who had the greatest share of his spoils. After all the trouble which was taken to find him guilty, that end was not attained. He is, however, still detained in prison, and apparently is not likely soon to be released.*

Prince Louis of Hesse Homburg, as well as his younger brother, entered the service of Russia with the rank of colonel in the year 1724. The younger brother,

* Count Lestock, after having been shut up for four years in the fortress of Petersburg, was banished to Ustiuk-Veliki, in the government of Archangel. His wife, Marie Aurora de Mengden, was allowed the choice either to follow her husband into exile, or to retire to any place she liked, and selected the former. The count and countess lived in that town until the death of Elizabeth; and although they had three roubles a day to spend, they often wanted the necessaries of life, because their allowance, like that of the other prisoners, was under the control of their guards. Peter III., on his accession, recalled Lestock, and restored him to his former position. In virtue of the decree of the emperor, he endeavoured to recover his property; but it was dispersed in all directions, and he only got back a very small portion. Of 40,000 roubles which he had in ready money when first imprisoned, there were restored only 11,000, and in accounting for the rest, they sent him in a bill of charges incurred, among which the articles of pen, ink, and paper, were put at 800 roubles. The Empress Catherine II. gave him a pension of 7000 roubles, and a fine estate in Livonia, which his wife enjoys at this day. Count Lestock came back from his exile sadly afflicted with the stone. In the intervals of his sufferings he gave himself up to his usual gaiety and liveliness, and the freedom with which he spoke of those who had been enriched by plundering him often made his friends anxious for him. He died, after protracted suffering, on the 12th of June, 1767. (Note of the French editor.)

of whom report spoke very favourably, died some years afterwards. The intention of Peter I. in bringing him to Russia, was to marry him to the Princess Elizabeth. The death of that prince was the first obstacle to her marrying, and afterwards the matter was never entertained.* As for Prince Louis, he had not a single good point: without education, manners, or judgment, he was a mischief maker, a coward, and above no meanness of any kind. Nevertheless, he was rapidly advanced in military charges. Under the reigns of Catherine and Peter II. he rose to the rank of lieutenant-general, and under Anne he was appointed master of the ordnance, — an office which he discharged so ill, that he threw every branch of the department into the greatest confusion. After the year 1737 he was not again employed in the war against the Porte. At the beginning of that against Sweden, he was put in command of the troops encamped near Krasna Gorka, because it was quite certain there would be nothing to do there. After the Empress Elizabeth had ascended the throne, she gave him the title of general field-marshal. He was in great favour during the first few months of that princess's reign; but he soon betrayed his real character, and fell into as little repute at court as under the preceding reigns. Despised by the army, and the object of ridicule at court, the title by which he was known was that of "the stage field-marshal."† Being on bad terms with every one at Petersburg, he formed the wish to go to Hamburg, to reside in his principality, and he died at Berlin about the end of the year 1745.

* *i. e.* by herself. There were several matches proposed for her, from which she escaped with difficulty. See pp. 292. 294.

† Le maréchal des comediens.

After so long a digression, it is time to resume the thread of the story.*

The empress, who wished to begin her reign by the conclusion of a peace with Sweden on the very day she mounted the throne, restored to liberty Didron, the Swedish captain before mentioned, who was then prisoner of war at Petersburg. She despatched him to count Loewenhaupt, to notify to him her accession to the throne, and to declare that she would readily come into terms of accommodation with Sweden. The Marquis de la Chetardie wrote at the same time to the Swedish general; and it was agreed there should be a truce, to endeavour to procure a peace.

The Swedes, who imagined that by their diversion they had greatly contributed to the placing the empress on the throne, set up great claims, hoping to obtain nothing less than all Finland, with the town of Wyburg. But the empress would not consent to give up an inch of the conquests made by her father. She offered to indemnify, and even recompense Sweden with money, but the court of Sweden refused the offer; so that the term of the truce had scarce expired when, on the 1st of March, the war began again.

The empress recalled from Siberia a number of the banished families, of which several had been sent thither in the time of the Empress Catherine. All the posts which they had occupied before their imprisonment were restored to them. It was reckoned, that since the commencement of the Empress Anne's reign, there had

* The last six paragraphs are only found in the French edition. Instead of them, the English one has merely the words: "in the room of Golofkin; and after the death of the Prince Czerkaski she named him high-chancellor," following the word "vice-chancellor" (p. 339. line 16.). The additions can scarcely all proceed from Manstein's own hand.

been above twenty thousand sent to Siberia. There were five thousand of these, of which not the least trace could be discovered. But as the empress recalled all that could be found, not a day passed but there were seen at court some new faces of persons who had passed several years successively in the most horrible prisons.

Among the number of these was M. Schoubin. Originally a common soldier, he became a non-commissioned officer, and finally an ensign in the Preobraschensky regiment of guards. While holding this rank, he attracted the attention of the Princess Elizabeth by his handsome face, and she set no limits to the favour with which she treated him. The Empress Anne arrested him and sent him to Siberia, without any formal trial. On Elizabeth ascending the throne, she remembered her old favourite. A courier was despatched express to Siberia for him, and he was found after much trouble. For it should be observed that whenever any one is sent into banishment without the place of exile being specified in the order of arrest, his name is altered as in the Spanish inquisition. Sometimes the court itself orders the change without registration of the fact in the secret chancery; and hence the difficulty of recovering prisoners.

The empress gave Schoubin some fine estates, and made him a major-general and major in the guards. But his imprisonment had so injured his health, as after a short time to render the attendance at court onerous to him; and accordingly he wisely requested permission to retire, and went to live on his estates.*

The duke of Courland was also recalled, together with all those who had been involved in his disgrace; and Marshal Munich was sent to occupy the very house in

* The last two paragraphs are only found in the French edition.

which the other had lived at Pelim, the place of his exile in Siberia. As to the duke, the empress made him an establishment in the town of Jaroslaw, where he is very well treated. He is allowed the liberty of hunting for eight miles * round; he sees company there, and has permission to write to his friends. Gustavus Biron was to re-enter the service, but he died at Petersburg before he could be settled in his post. His elder brother asked leave to retire, and, obtaining it, returned to Courland, where he died on his estate. General Bismark was sent to the Ukraine, where he was appointed to the command of the troops.

In the month of January the duke of Holstein arrived at Petersburg. The empress had invited him there as soon as she was on the throne; and was greatly rejoiced at seeing her nephew and successor.† Some months afterwards this prince made his abjuration of the protestant faith, and embraced the Greek religion in the cathedral church of Moscow. He was declared grand-duke of Russia, and lawful heir of the empress. On this occasion all the people took a new oath of allegiance: time will show whether it will be better kept than former ones.‡

Towards the end of February the court repaired to Moscow to celebrate the coronation of the empress, which took place on the 25th of April. There were on this occasion many festivities, and some great promotions. The marquis de la Chetardie had the blue ribbon of St. Andrew, and some months afterwards returned to France loaded with presents.

In the beginning of this reign, every one imagined that

* No doubt *German* miles are meant.

† This prince is the unfortunate Peter III., the husband of Catherine II.

‡ The last clause of the sentence is only found in the French edition.

the empress would not fail to contract a close alliance with France. There were all appearances of it. La Chetardie had, by order of his court, assisted this princess with money and advice, which had much contributed to the success of the revolution. Her majesty had great reason to be dissatisfied with the courts of Vienna and London; their ministers had watched her conduct, and given several intimations of it to the regent; nay, even after she was seated on the throne, they had sent orders to their ministers to endeavour to get up a new party. La Chetardie continued in great favour all the time he staid in Russia; indeed, there did not pass a day without his having long conferences with the empress. And yet, for all this, the aspect of everything soon changed. The first cause of it was the great pretensions of Sweden, which France seconded as strenuously as she could. The count Bestuchef did the rest. As soon as La Chetardie was gone, he had a clear stage. Having a greater partiality for the house of Austria than that of Bourbon*, he applied himself to restore a good understanding between his court and that of Vienna. He succeeded to the utmost of his wishes. Monsieur d'Allion, who had succeeded to La Chetardie, had not the capacity to hinder him, and the English court found means to overcome all the difficulties.

A little while after the court's arrival at Moscow, the count of Saxe came there. He was just come from France to solicit the duchy of Courland. (I have above explained the pretensions he had to this duchy.†) But as the court of Russia draws revenues from that country,

* The English edition has, "In the belief that a connection with the house of Austria and its allies was now more advantageous to Russia than an alliance with France."

† See above, page 291.

having taken possession of a number of districts or bailiwicks there, which it will try to keep as long as possible, the count of Saxe met with no success, and went back without in the least improving his prospects.

I forgot to mention that the empress annulled everything that was done during the regency. Those who had been promoted were obliged to lay down all the employments which they had held from the grand-duchess; and all the lands and pensions the latter had granted were confiscated. Some little time after the empress reconfirmed the posts, but the lands and pensions were given back only to very few.

The cabinet-council which the Empress Anne had established was also abolished. Elizabeth restored to the senate all the power which it had enjoyed under the reign of Peter I. All causes are decided there finally, and in accordance with the institution of this emperor. The empress proposed to preside there often in person, and at the beginning of her reign did so occasionally; but being soon weary of the work, she has never for many years entered the assembly, and leaves all to the discretion of her ministers.* This tribunal had, in former times, the power of capital punishment; but Elizabeth, having made a vow never to have any one executed during her reign, has reserved to herself the confirmation of its sentences. Her resolution being made public, has greatly augmented the licentiousness of the people. I have before observed that the empress promised those who assisted her in the revolution, that she would deliver the Russian nation frem the oppression of the foreigners. She kept her word. But the gentlemen of the company of body-guards did not think that quite sufficient; and they presented a

* This sentence is only found in the French edition.

memorial, in which they desired that all the foreigners then in the service of Russia might be massacred, or at least sent out of the country. The empress, not thinking fit to consent to so horrid a project, succeeded in appeasing the clamour by a largesse, [and declared, at the same time, that she took all the foreigners under her special protection]. Notwithstanding which, after the court had gone to Moscow, a report was spread at Petersburg among the people, that the troops which were in that capital would have permission to massacre and plunder all the foreigners.

The soldiers of the guards, and especially those of the old regiments, being the most insolent and the least disciplined of all the troops of the empire, committed innumerable disorders, attacked the townspeople they met in the street, and plundered them. On Easter-day this unbridled licentiousness went still farther. A soldier of the guards picked a quarrel with a grenadier of one of the country regiments, then in quarters at Petersburg. From words they came to blows. An officer of the grenadiers happened to pass that way, who, unfortunately, was a German. Going to part them, he pushed away the guardsman, who immediately began to cry out that he was insulted, and to call his comrades that were in the neighbourhood. In an instant, there was a crowd gathered, all of soldiers of the guards. The officer, who could not by himself oppose a whole mob, retired into a house hard by, in which several foreign officers, who knew nothing of what had passed in the street, were assembled. The crowd followed and broke open the door, which had been barricaded as well as could be done in such a hurry. They attacked the officers, who, finding themselves unable to resist such an enraged multitude, retired from room to room, till they got at last into the

garret, where they were still closely pursued. Some were lucky enough to make their escape over the roof; others were unmercifully beaten nearly to death. Sautron, an aide-de-camp of Marshal Lacy, and Browne, a captain, were the worst used, being for some days so ill from their wounds, that it was thought they would die. At length, the tumult was appeased by some picquets that were sent there, and the most mutinous were seized.

The marshal sent advice of this outrage to court. The guilty were punished, but slightly; and the insolence of the guards grew to such a pitch, that some time afterwards they began a fresh mutiny even in the camp itself, as will be seen in its place.

To prevent farther disorders of this kind, marshal Lacy had picquets of the country regiments posted in all the streets, and ordered frequent patrols by night and by day; notwithstanding which, the whole town of Petersburg was in great terror, the inhabitants did not think themselves safe in their houses, nor did any one venture out in the streets after dark. Meanwhile the greatest precautions were taken for keeping the gates carefully shut, both by night and day. Most certain it is, that had it not been for the good arrangements made by marshal Lacy, the disorders would have gone to greater lengths, and much blood have been shed.

On the 1st of March the hostilities between the Russians and the Swedes began afresh. The season, which is at that time very severe in that climate, prevented their making war in any way but in small parties. Three hundred hussars, supported by 300 fusiliers, made an inroad into the enemy's country, and laid waste a number of villages; after which they retreated.

Marshal Lacy in the mean time formed a project for actually employing the cold as a means for striking a home

blow at Sweden. His idea was to surprise Fredericsham, where he knew the garrison was weak and off their guard. All the regiments which were to take part in this expedition had already received their orders, and everything appeared so well arranged that failure was scarcely possible. Part of the troops were to pass the gulf of Finland on the ice, push on to the right of Narva upon Fredericsham, and attack the town on the side of the sea; a proceeding which would have disconcerted the enemy the more, as it could not be supposed he would expect to be attacked from that side. The other troops were to take the Wyburg road along the sea. The day for marching was fixed, and the marshal was going to leave Petersburg, when the thaw came and spoilt the whole scheme.*

Nevertheless Lacy, who wanted to open the campaign as early as possible, sent orders to the regiments to assemble near Wyburg by the end of April; but the badness of the season and the excessive cold continued till the middle of May; nor could the cavalry take the field before the end of that month, for want of grass; the Russian horses eating only green food during the whole of the summer.†

Meanwhile, the court of Petersburg caused a manifesto to be circulated in Finland, in which the Finlanders were exhorted to detach themselves from Sweden. This manifesto, which made a strong impression on a great part of the Finlanders, was the cause of their being much distrusted in the Swedish army throughout the campaign.

The same reasons which had prevented the Russian army from taking the field, had also prevented the Swedes.

* This paragraph is only found in the French edition.

† The last clause is only found in the French edition.

But, besides that, count Loewenhaupt had made some egregious mistakes. On the agreement for a suspension of arms, he had sent his army into winter-quarters at places much too distant from the frontier; not having kept at Fredericsham and its neighbourhood above 5000 or 6000 men, whereas a great part of the Russian army had its quarters very near the boundary. Loewenhaupt had been so fully pursuaded that peace would be made, that he had neglected several necessary dispositions for the ensuing campaign. He had, at the beginning of March, learnt that some Russian regiments had orders to march; and the inroads of the hussars had made him believe that the enemy's army would begin its operations in the winter; upon which he burnt one of his own magazines, which he had established near a village called Quarenby, in the direction of Fredericsham, and at the same time sent orders to the troops to assemble near that town, obliging them thereby to make forced marches, which extremely fatigued them, and put them into a very bad plight against the ensuing campaign. He afterwards, on finding it to be a false alarm, sent them back to their old quarters, where most of them were still remaining very quietly when the Russians began their operations.

The Russian army had assembled at Wyburg by the latter end of May. Marshal Lacy came there, and reviewed his troops. The cavalry consisted of three regiments of cuirassiers, in all 1640 men; a detachment of the horse-guards, 300; six regiments of dragoons, 4200; three regiments of hussars, 1786; and 2500 Cossacks. The infantry consisted of three battalions of the foot-guards, and of twenty-eight battalions of the country regiments; of which each battalion might have 500 men. There had been 10,000 men embarked in forty-

three galleys; so that the Russian army might amount to 35,000 or 36,000 fighting men.

The generals who commanded under marshal Lacy were, the general Lewaschew on board the galleys; Keith and Loewendal in the land army; the lieutenant-generals Brilly on board the galleys; Stoffeln, count Soltikoff, and the prince of Holstein, in the land army; the major-generals Bratke, George Lieven, Bruce, Wedel, count Lacy, Browne, Lapouchin and Tscherntzow, in the land army; Caraoulow and Kindermann on board the galleys. Major-general Tamilow had the direction of the artillery.

The Russian fleet had not gone out of port during the preceding campaign; this year it was resolved that it should act. The admiralty had orders to send as many ships to sea as it possibly could, and actually accomplished the fitting out of twelve ships of the line and some frigates. The vice-admiral Mischakow had the command of them. He did nothing great,—in fact he did nothing; for he dared not attack the Swedish fleet, though much weaker than his own, [and though he had repeated orders from the court to attack it]. The war against the Turks had destroyed the old sailors and the best officers of the navy. There were not at this time men to be got for the crews of the ships; so that the empress was obliged to break up a regiment of foot, and put the soldiers on board the fleet to help to man it. Though these new sailors were not worth much, some service was obtained from them by mixing them with the old on board the men-of-war. As it was feared that the Swedes might this year make descents in Livonia, some regiments were left there, under the command of major-general Butler, to guard the coasts near Revel.

I have spoken above of the mutiny of the guards at the

beginning of the campaign: it happened in the following manner.

While the army was encamped under Wyburg, the Swedes sent a subaltern officer and a drum with letters for marshal Lacy. Lieven, who was the major-general of the day, was at the advanced posts when they came, and as the marshal was then in the town, Lieven had the messengers conducted to his own tent, took the letters, and carried them to the marshal himself. Lieven being at the same time colonel of the horse-guards, had his quarters in the rear of the guards, so that some of the soldiers of the foot-guards, having seen him return with the Swedes, went directly to tell their comrades that the foreigners were conspiring against the state; that they received messages and letters from the enemy; that general Lieven had some Swedes concealed in his tent; that the being commanded by foreign officers was no longer to be borne; and that the best thing they could do would be to massacre them all together and begin with Lieven. Instantly 300 or 400 soldiers and subalterns of the foot-guards, the most part of them of the regiments of Preobraschensky and Semeonowsky, having got together, went straight to Lieven's tent, and not finding him, entered the secretary's office, where the Swedes had been put, seized them, together with the general's aide-de-camp, and used them extremely ill. The general's guard, endeavouring to oppose this violence, met with no better treatment than the Swedes, the general's aide-de-camp, and his domestics. The officers ran to appease this disorder, but the soldiers showed them no respect, nor made them any other answer, than "that the foreign officers in the army should all be massacred; and that done, they would obey those of their own nation."

There was not an officer of these mutinous corps that

would come near them; some, for fear of ill-usage; others not to hinder the execution of a thing they had long wished. Meantime general Keith, who had been informed of the disorder, arrived; threw himself without the least hesitation into the thickest of the rebellious troops; seized with his own hand one of the mutineers, and ordered a priest to be called to confess him, saying, he would have him shot on the spot; commanding, withal, his aides-de-camp and officers to lay hold of some others. Scarce had he pronounced those words with that firmness which is so natural to him, when the whole band of them dispersed, and ran each to hide himself in his tent. Keith then ordered the roll-call to be made at the head of the camp, the absent to be taken into custody, and informations to be laid against all that were present at the mutiny. As neither the horse-guards nor country regiments were concerned in this rising, they had all taken arms to repress by force the insolence of the two regiments of foot-guards. This, after the first, was superfluous; but it is certain that, if it had not been for the spirited resolution of general Keith, the revolt would have spread far and wide, as no Russian officer would have undertaken to oppose himself to the rage of the soldiery.

The forwardest in the mutiny were all seized; and the court ordered a commission to examine into the affair, of which general Romanzow was the president. The ringleader, who was a subaltern of the guards, had his right hand cut off, and was sent to Siberia; the rest had the knout, and were disposed of in the same way.

The inveterate hatred which the Russian nobility had conceived against foreigners is not altogether without excuse. They had not only been compelled by the ordinances of Peter I. to change a great part of their ancient customs, but under the reign of the Empress

Anne all the first posts of the empire were given to strangers, who regulated everything according to their fancy, and by their harshness made the Russians feel only too sensibly the power they had, treating even members of the first families of the empire with haughtiness and contempt; add to this the promise made by the empress, at her accession to the throne, that she would deliver Russia from dependence on foreigners, and which she had not quite fulfilled (at least according to the idea of her guards), and the outrage just related will appear less strange.

On the 18th of June marshal Lacy began his march with the army, taking his course along the sea-side, that he might keep up a free communication with the galleys, which carried the greatest part of the army's provisions.

Major-general Wedel was detached with 600 dragoons, 1000 hussars, and most of the Cossacks, on the high road to Wilmanstrand, to alarm the enemy on that side; and he had orders to advance within six leagues of Fredericsham.

The Russian army during this campaign observed the following order in its marches, when at a tolerable distance from the enemy. The light cavalry, followed by the cuirassiers and half the dragoons, composed the van; the artillery came next, followed by the infantry; the other half of the dragoons formed the rear-guard. But as often as the marshal judged there was the least likelihood of coming to an engagement he put part of the infantry at the head. For, as the country of Finland is extremely hemmed in, there is always a necessity to defile on a very small front, and there is no marching except in one column; nor is any way practicable but along the high road, with rocks, woods, and marshes on each side. As, in so broken a country, there is not room for en-

camping an army all together, there was always a flying camp of four regiments of foot and some dragoons of the rear-guard, separated by the distance of one or two leagues from the main camp.

Count Loewenhaupt, who had not as yet assembled the Swedish army, was terribly embarrassed when he heard that the Russians were marching. He sent colonel Lagencrantz to marshal Lacy to treat for a peace; but, as the marshal had no instructions on this head from the court, he persuaded him to go on to Moscow, and did not the less continue his own march against the enemy.

On the 24th of June the Russian army entered into Swedish Finland; the villages on the frontiers of which had been burnt the winter before by the Cossacks, to deprive the Swedish troops of means of subsistence. The inhabitants had retreated into the innermost parts of the country, so that all thereabouts was a desert.

General Wedel sent several prisoners into camp, from whom it was learnt that the enemy were hard at work making an entrenchment near the village of Mendolax, situate at four leagues' distance from Fredericsham, on the Russian side; that their army was not as yet entirely assembled, but that repeated orders had been sent to the regiments to repair, with all possible expedition, to the camp, which was pitched on the other side of Fredericsham; that their army consisted of four regiments of cavalry, three of dragoons, and nineteen of infantry; and that the regiments had suffered greatly in the winter, by the long marches they had been obliged to make to Seckyerwy and elsewhere.*

The Russian army continued its march, without having any news of the enemy, through the closest country

* See above, page 316. and also page 354.

and on the worst roads in the universe. There were some places of such a nature, that 2000 men behind a good entrenchment and an abatis of felled trees might have stopped the whole army. On June 30th it encamped on the river of Vereyocky *, the bridge over which the Swedes had destroyed, and set hard to work to make a new one. A Swedish deserter came to the camp, and brought advice that count Loewenhaupt was come to Mendolax to forward the works by his presence, and that the whole Swedish army was to assemble there and dispute the pass with the Russians. The spies having confirmed this intelligence, the marshal ordered the heavy baggage to be left at Vereyocky, with 800 regulars and 200 Cossacks to guard it, under general Kindermann. The sick of the army were embarked on board the galleys that had brought provisions for the army, and sent back to Wyburg. The troops had orders to take with them biscuits for ten days. The bridge being finished, and the whole army passed over on the 1st of July, the marshal reinforced the land army with two regiments of grenadiers and 3000 fusiliers, whom he took out of the galleys, together with general Lewaschew. General Wedel also returned to camp with his detachment, having met with only one party of the enemy, of whom he killed thirty and took fourteen prisoners.

On July 2nd Wedel was detached anew to observe the movements of the enemy. From the spies it was ascertained that there were not above 4000 Swedes arrived at Mendolax, but that their galleys were at anchor on the right of the entrenchment, from whence they might draw as many reinforcements as they required. Upon this advice the marshal gave an order to lieutenant-general

* Probably Wyra'orkij.

Brilly to advance with a part of the Russian galleys, and to try to force those of the enemy to abandon this position.

On July 3rd the Russian army advanced as far as Ravayocky *, a village situate within three leagues of the entrenchment. On the 5th a Swedish detachment of 300 foot and 50 dragoons sallied out of the entrenchment with a design to cut off the advanced guard of the Russians; but the hussars alighting, attacked them so briskly, that they obliged them to retreat in a hurry, leaving an officer and fifteen men dead on the spot. The Russians took ten of them prisoners, and had not on their own side more than two hussars killed and forty wounded.

The army having now advanced to within half a mile of the entrenchment, the marshal went to reconnoitre it with his generals. They found it extremely strong, both in its situation and from the abatis of trees, which had been felled. The guides were examined, to get from them whether there was any way of turning it. These showed the impossibility of such a step; as the right rested on the sea and the left on a great lake, which not only reached a long way into a wood that was excessively thick, but had a marshy impracticable bottom. Nevertheless, after having examined all these things, the marshal resolved to attack the entrenchment. It was defended in front by a deep and very steep ravine, that seemed cut as it were into the rock. This ravine was at the bottom, where there ran a small rivulet, about 100 feet wide. The ground was marshy and covered with a thick wood, all the trees of which being felled, were laid across the morass, so as to form an abatis which it was scarcely possible to pass. To

* Rawajörkij.

come at this entrenchment, which had 250 fathoms * of front, there was a wood to go through, which hid everything till one came within length of a short musket-shot.

It was designed to make several simultaneous attacks upon the position; but there were only two ways to be found that led to it,— the one the high road near the right of the enemy, the other a pathway leading towards their left. General Lewaschew, at the head of six regiments of foot and two of dragoons, went along the pathway. The marshal, with the rest of the army, took the high road.

The march was much retarded by the way being so extremely narrow, that they were obliged every now and then to halt, to make it broader, by cutting down the trees on both side to let the cannon pass. At length the marshal caused the entrenchment to be again reconnoitred, when the officer employed reported that he had approached very near to the barrier without perceiving any one. At the very same time general Lewaschew sent word to the marshal that some of his hussars had penetrated into the entrenchment itself, and found it abandoned by the enemy. Some light troops were at once detached in pursuit of them, but could not come up with them, they having fled in the night-time to Fredericsham, where they arrived before their retreat was so much as known. The Russian army passed the entrenchment, and took possession of the camp the Swedes had just quitted.

The more this post was examined the more astonishing it appeared that the enemy should have abandoned it. It

* The French edition has 2500, but this extent seems so great, that I have retained the numbers of the English edition.

was found extremely strong, both from its situation and from the works that had been made there. It was universally agreed, that if they had manned it with 7000 of their troops, and planted in it twenty pieces of cannon, for which they had actually prepared batteries and platforms, it would have been extremely difficult, if not impossible, to force it. The Russians must have lost in the attempt great part of their infantry, and would probably have been obliged to abandon the enterprise. Some grenadiers were, for the experiment's sake, sent to try to clamber up the front of the retrenchment, and they took above an hour before they could get to the top of the parapet. What then must it have been if they had attempted it under a brisk fire of cannon and small arms?

On the 6th the marshal and the generals went to reconnoitre Fredericsham. This town is situated upon an eminence, having the sea on one side, and a great lake on the other; the space between both is fortified: the works indeed were only of earth and fascines, ill enough kept in repair; but there is no investing the town entirely, on account of the lake, which is near five leagues in circuit. The garrison had the communication open with the army, which was encamped behind it, and could reinforce it with supplies of men as often as it should need them. A siege of it appeared difficult to all the generals. Even the ground seemed to forbid it, being nothing but rocks, which promised to make it very hard to open trenches; besides, what with the marshes and the woods, they could scarce find room for pitching a camp. All these difficulties did not discourage the marshal,—he was determined to attack the place.

The enemy had brought up three galleys to bear on the left flank of the Russians, which rested on the sea, and upon which these kept a great fire from their guns; but

the Russians having returned it with the same vivacity, and damaged one of the galleys, they sheered off. On the 7th the army moved up to Fredericsham. The camp it occupied was so uneven and so full of rocks, that there was not a place in which they could draw up a single regiment in order of battle. A part of the dragoons was even obliged to encamp so near the enemies' works, that they were not above a cannon-shot distance from them.

The marshal having a second time reconnoitred the works of the town, gave the direction of the siege to count Loewendal; and the army being in want of battering pieces, some galleys were sent to Wyburg to bring them. The regiments were set to make fascines, and the artillery-men to prepare planks for gun platforms; and as the whole country is full of wood, the work went on with sufficient expedition.

It was resolved to open the trenches on the night between the 9th and 10th of the month (July). Count Loewendal had reconnoitred an eminence on which he designed to place the first battery. In short, all the dispositions were made for beginning the siege, when the Swedes rendered them needless by abandoning the town. At eleven at night it was seen to be all on fire. At first it was imagined that the commandant was ordering the suburbs to be burnt. Some hussars therefore were sent to reconnoitre, and these brought back word that the fire was in the body of the town itself, and that the enemy had abandoned it. The Swedes had, on their retreat, filled several houses with powder, bomb-shells, grenades, and loaded muskets, which went off one after another in the air. This hindered the Russians from entering and putting out the fire. A party of the light troops ventured, however, through the flames to pursue

the enemy; but could only catch and bring away a few of the sick, who could not follow their own people fast enough, the bulk of the army having had time enough to get to a distance.

Three-fourths of the houses of Fredericsham were reduced to ashes. There were found in the place ten brass cannon, eighteen and twenty-four pounders, and a hundred and twenty iron cannon, of different sizes. Almost all the magazines had been consumed by the flames, so that there was but little found of provisions and ammunition. One magazine of powder had not exploded. It contained 400 quintals of powder, and some thousands of barrels of pitch. One may judge of the precipitation with which the enemy made their retreat, from the fact that the regiment of East Bothnia left one of its colours behind.

It must be owned that the fortifications themselves were very indifferent, all the works being of nothing but earth; however, as the place had a free communication with the sea; as the army was encamped behind the town, able to pour in reinforcements without its being in the power of the Russians to hinder them; as there was in the place a sufficiency both of victuals and munitions of war; and as the ground itself rendered the works of the besiegers extremely difficult,—there is no being enough astonished at the circumstance of the Swedes abandoning the place without the least resistance. The garrison had consisted of eight regiments; viz. Bousquet, Wilbrand, Abo, East Bothnia, Savalax, Kiminogor, Nyland and Tawasthouse.

The fault committed by Loewenhaupt in abandoning Fredericsham was the greater, as he had there established the grand magazine of the army, while the troops had not, after their retreat thence, bread enough for ten days;

and he had not even provided the means of drawing provisions from Helsingfors, the other magazine; so that he was consequently obliged to abandon the whole country and to approach that town. In fact, in the ten months' time during which he had commanded in Finland he had not so much as made it an object of consideration whether he should defend or abandon Fredericsham.

The marshal ordered 2000 workmen to clear the town and the galleys to enter the port. On the 10th, the festival of St. Peter, the name-day of the grand-duke, the *Te Deum* was sung in thanksgiving, on the ground that the Russian army had taken Fredericsham, the only fortified town in all Swedish Finland, without losing a single man. A detachment of hussars, that had been engaged in an affair of outposts, brought in with them some prisoners, who gave the intelligence that the army of the enemies had passed the river Soma, and was encamped on the other side.

July 11th: the Russian army marched ten versts, or near three French leagues, passed the river Soma, and encamped on the spot which the enemies had just quitted. The hussars, who kept close at the heels of the Swedes in their march, brought word that their army was passing the Kymen, and that the greatest part of them was already on the other side.

July 12th: the Russians advanced to the Kymen. The whole Swedish army had crossed that river, nothing remaining on the hither side but a guard, that retreated as soon as they saw the Russian army approach. Lacy encamped along the side of the river. Nothing was seen of the enemy but a few platoons, posted upon the eminences on the other side. There they stayed quietly enough till the Russians had entered their camp and the cavalry had taken off the saddles and bridles of their horses; but then

they opened a fierce fire upon them from cannon, which they had planted on those eminences, and which were masked by those platoons of infantry. They more especially galled the quarter of the cuirassiers, who were encamped the nearest to the village. The marshal ordered them to change their place, and stationed them in the rear of a wood, where they were sheltered from the enemy's guns. Some cannon were then brought up on the Russian side of the river, which soon silenced those of the Swedes, having at the first fire dismounted two of their pieces.

On the 13th the Swedish army quitted the banks of the Kymen. The marshal at once made all the necessary dispositions for crossing that river. The bridges had been made, and the army was beginning to cross the next morning, — the greater part was already over, — when the marshal received a dispatch from the court, bringing him a positive order to put an end to the operations of this campaign as soon as he should have forced the Swedes to pass the Kymen; to establish that river as a frontier; to build along the bank of it small forts, at convenient distances; and to encamp with his army near Fredericsham, till it should be time to put his army into winter-quarters. The marshal immediately assembled all the generals and held a council of war on the banks of the river itself. All the Russian generals were to a man of the opinion, to repass the river and follow the orders of the court; but the foreigners represented that the court would never have given such, if it could have been imagined that the enemy would so easily abandon their position. Their counsel was, that, since they had passed the river, it would be best to improve the advantage they had over the Swedes, and drive them, if possible, to Helsingfors; take that town; and terminate by that stroke the operations

of the campaign. The marshal preferred this opinion. The army pursued its way, and after some marches came to encamp near Pernokirk, where they found the Swedes encamped over against them, in a very advantageous post. But, after having for some days stood the presence of their enemies, they began to be afraid of being turned by the Russian galleys, which made them decamp and retreat to Borgo. The Russians followed them thither, and the armies remained again for some days in face of each other, the Russians on one side of the river, the Swedes on the other. At length the Swedes retreated as far as Helsingkirk, where they took up a position of great strength, with their right resting on the sea; they had in front a deep morass, of a quarter of a league (French) broad, where there was but one little way for scarce more than eight or ten men to pass abreast; while a river that rose near the morass covered their right* wing and rear. But even this post, where they might have remained several months without fear of attack, did not appear strong enough for them, and when they heard that Stoffeln had been detached with some regiments, they were afraid of being taken in the rear and cut off from their magazines, so that they retreated as far as Helsingfors.

The marshal and all the generals had often been out to reconnoitre the enemy's camp, and try to discover if there was no way to make an impression on it, but in vain; they did not find it possible. They were therefore extremely pleased when they saw him decamp. Some light troops were sent to harass him in his march, and the Russian army immediately followed them.

Near Helsingfors the Swedes had a well-entrenched camp [which had been preparing for them before they

* Their right as seen from the Russian camp, but their proper left.

arrived there]; notwithstanding which, the resolution was taken to abandon that likewise, and to retreat upon Abo.

The same evening that the Russian army arrived in the neighbourhood of Helsingfors, a Finland peasant desired to speak with the marshal, and told him that the Swedes designed to march the next day in the direction of Abo; but that it would be no difficult matter to hinder them, there being across the wood a road which Peter I. had caused to be made in the preceding war. This, he assured him, might be easily rendered practicable, by clearing away the brushwood that had been growing for the thirty years it had been made; and this road terminated on the other side of the wood in the highway from Helsingfors to Abo.

Upon this advice two engineer officers were sent to reconnoitre the ground, and reported the thing practicable. General Loewendal was at once detached with sixty-four companies of grenadiers and four battalions. Before the night was over they sent word that the way was cleared, and that they had posted themselves on the road to Abo.

By four in the morning the whole army was under march, and joined Loewendal by six. Scarce was the junction made when they saw the van of the Swedish army. The Swedes, terribly surprised at discovering the Russians in a post where they had by no means expected them, returned as fast as possible into their camp at Helsingfors, which they continued to fortify and strengthen with a number of pieces of cannon.

The marshal, by occupying the road to Abo, had at the same time cut off all communications of the Swedes on the land-side; they had, however, for some time the sea open to them: but at length the Russian fleet appeared in the offing; and as that of Sweden had suffered extremely by sickness, finding itself in no condition to act,

it retired into Crona. Admiral Mischakow, who had remained inactive up to that time, availed himself of this retreat, and shut up the Swedish army on the side of the sea. In this situation the Swedes remained fifteen days longer. They took time to fortify their post well, and then entered into negotiation.

Count Loewenhaupt and lieutenant-general Buddenbrog had been put under arrest, by order of their court, and carried to Stockholm, where they were tried. Major-general Bousquet, as senior, had the command of the army. He concluded with general Loewendal, whom the marshal had commissioned to treat with him, the following capitulation: —

1st. That the ten Finland regiments that were in the Swedish army should lay down their arms; the regiments of dragoons give up their horses to Russian commissaries, and the men return each to his respective village: 2nd. That all the magazines, field-pieces, and whatever arms were at Helsingfors should be similarly delivered to Russian commissaries; and that the Swedes should not be allowed to take any more provisions out of the magazines there than would be required for their subsistence upon their way back to Sweden, — the battering-pieces to be left to the Swedes: 3rd. That the Swedish infantry should be embarked on board their galleys and transports, to be conveyed to Sweden, and that the marshal Lacy should give them *passports* for their safety on the passage: 4th. That the cavalry should take the road by Torno to return to Sweden, under the escort of a Russian captain and sixty hussars.

All the articles of this capitulation were faithfully executed. The Finlanders, after delivering up their horses and arms, returned home, very well satisfied at not being obliged to serve longer in a war in which for them there had been hitherto nothing but misfortune.

When the Swedish army capitulated it was near 17,000 strong, and all the Russian forces that Lacy had at that time under his command did not outnumber the enemy by 500. The garrisons of Fredericsham and Borgo, the various detachments they had been obliged to make, and sickness, had reduced the Russian army by one-half; so that the odds were two to one, that if the Swedes had refused to submit to those ignominious conditions, and thereupon the marshal had attacked them, the Russians would have been beaten, considering the situation of the enemy's camp, which they had had full time to fortify. In short, the whole tenor of the Swedish conduct during the war was so singular, and so contrary to usual practice, that posterity will hardly credit it.

When the states had resolved on the war, count Loewenhaupt was chosen for the command of the army, with all the power necessary for a commander-in-chief. But scarce was the queen dead, when a council of war was established, in which all colonels of regiments had a seat, and all affairs were debated and decided by a majority; nor had the commander-in-chief any more than his own single vote like the rest. It was even often found necessary to send the minutes of the council of war to Sweden, and to wait the decision of the king and the senate on the objects of reference. The dissensions among the generals of the army were so great, that it was enough, if one was of any opinion, for another to be of a contrary one. To all this was added another untoward incident; a diet being called at Stockholm to elect a successor to the crown, a number of officers quitted their corps to assist at it, and to attend to their own affairs, or rather to increase the power of their respective parties and neutralise that of their opponents. In short, so great was the confusion in the Swedish army,

that the ablest general in the world could scarcely have effected the least thing with it.

After the departure of the Swedes all Finland remained subject to the Russian empire, and the army had nothing more to do than to go into winter-quarters. General Keith was sent to Abo, the capital of Finland, in quality of governor of the whole country. A sufficient body of troops was left with him to secure this conquest. Sixteen galleys and two prahms were ordered to remain at Helsingfors and five galleys at Fredericsham, to guard the coasts the next spring, till the arrival of the fleet. The rest of the army returned home, and marshal Lacy repaired to the court, which had come back to Petersburg a few days before.

While the Russian army was making this successful campaign in Finland the court had been at Moscow, where the empress was crowned. Sweden had made several proposals of peace before the commencement of warlike operations. Loewenhaupt had caused colonel Lagercrantz to make a journey to Moscow, as I have before noted. He had accepted all the proposals that were made to him; but, as these were too hard upon the Swedes, their ratification was refused, and Lagercrantz put under arrest. The states of Sweden sent the baron de Nolcken in his room with fresh proposals; but he did not succeed better in his negotiation than his predecessor. The empress, piqued at the exorbitant pretensions set up by the Swedes at the beginning of her reign, would not grant them a peace except on the condition of their ceding a part of Finland to her. And as, besides, she learnt that Nolcken had been somewhat too free in his talk about herself, and had even said that there ought to be a new revolution in favour of the duke of Holstein, he had orders to leave the country forthwith.

The duke of Holstein, who had been declared grand-duke of Russia, and lawful heir of that vast empire, was also elected successor to the kingdom of Sweden, by the states assembled at Stockholm to hold a diet. They were in hopes of obtaining a peace the sooner by this step. Three deputies were sent to the court of Russia to notify this election, and to request of the duke to visit the kingdom. Those in charge of this commission were, the count Bond, who had formerly resided at Petersburg as minister of the duke of Holstein, baron Hamilton, and baron Scheffer. They had their audience of the grand-duke after the court was returned from Petersburg; but his imperial highness, preferring the empire of Russia to the kingdom of Sweden, declined, thanking them for their good-will; and after they had remained some days at Petersburg they returned to Sweden.

It was in the month of December that the court returned to Petersburg. At length they began to think seriously of a peace, and the congress was fixed at Abo. The court of Russia sent the generals Romanzow and Louberas in quality of plenipotentiaries: those on the part of Sweden were the senator baron de Kederkreutz, and baron Nolcken, secretary of state. The conferences began in March, 1743, but the peace was not concluded till five months after, as will be seen in its place.

M. Loewendal quitted Russia towards the end of this year. The principal cause of his discontent was the suppression of the allowances, which he drew in his capacity of colonel of cuirassiers, and which might amount to 2500 roubles, or 5000 florins a year. When the empress ascended the throne she cut off the double pay which officers had been in the habit of receiving in virtue of different appointments. Loewendal being a general and likewise colonel of the cuirassiers, got therefore only

a general's pay. He wanted to have the blue riband, and he did not get it. Moreover, he did not live on the best of terms with marshal Lacy. In a letter which he wrote to count Lestock he blamed that general's proceedings, and did not paint him in the brightest colours. Lestock showed this letter to the empress, and she sent it to the marshal; and hence much bitterness of feeling arose between the two generals. Finally, the warning example of the misfortunes which had befallen several foreign officers, the revolt of the guards near Wyburg, and the spirit of disorder which began to show itself among the troops, all combined to determine him to ask leave to go to Poland to arrange his private affairs. Shortly afterwards he asked for his dismissal, and sent his wife to Petersburg to press his suit, which was granted, after a great many difficulties had been thrown in her way.

At the same time Keith likewise begged to be allowed to quit the Russian service; but the empress not choosing to lose at once the two best generals she then had, spared no pains to induce him to change his resolution. She wrote him the most gracious letters, sent him the blue riband, increased his pay, and succeeded so well, that she persuaded him to remain. She might have secured him for ever, if the high-chancellor had behaved well to him, and if an establishment in Russia had been offered to his brother, the lord marshal of Scotland; but the bad treatment of Bestucheff subsequently determined him again to tender the resignation of his services, and then all the promises which could be made him failed in inducing him to stay. He and his brother are settled in a country where real merit has a better chance of being appreciated and rewarded.*

* The two last paragraphs are only found in the French edition.

After the court of Petersburg had taken its measures for restoring internal tranquillity, its next care was to make the necessary arrangements for continuing the war with more vigour than ever, and for compelling Sweden, sword in hand, to receive such a peace as Russia should please to give her.

All the regiments had orders to prepare their field-equipage betimes, and to hold themselves in readiness for marching at the first warning; and as, after the late prosperous campaign, there was no longer reason to be afraid of any descents the Swedes could make on the coasts, it was resolved that the fleet should act with more vigour, and that there should be as much infantry as possible embarked in the galleys. To augment the marine force there was the greatest diligence used in the dockyards.

The regiments the most distant from Petersburg, and which had passed the preceding campaign in Livonia, had orders towards the latter end of March, (it being then determined to begin the campaign early,) to repair to the capital, to be embarked there. This embarkation could not, however, be completed before the 14th of May, when all the forces designed for embarkation were on board the galleys. They had received two months' provisions, one-half in biscuit, the other in flour.

The empress went on board marshal Lacy's galley, where she assisted at divine service according to the Greek ritual; after which she made the marshal a present of a ring of great value, and of a small golden cross inclosing some relics, and embracing him, wished him a prosperous campaign. She then went to her palace, from the windows of which she saw the galleys move off in a line, each giving her a royal salute as they passed.

On May 15th this squadron arrived at Cronstadt,

and found the fleet of men-of-war in the roads. The galleys entered the port, and stayed there the 16th and 17th, on account of the contrary winds.

On the 18th, the wind having changed, they came out of port into the road, where they formed in line of battle, and anchored. The empress arrived from Petersburg, and went on board the admiral's ship, where she had a long conversation with marshal Lacy and the admiral Gollowin; after which she landed and dined at Cronstadt, and returned the same day to Peterhof.

The fleet of men-of-war with which the Russians put to sea this year consisted of seventeen ships of the line and six frigates; it was commanded by the admiral count Gollowin, who hoisted his flag on board the Great Anne, which carried 110 guns. The empress had again been obliged to break up three regiments of infantry, for the same purpose as before, to make up the complement of the ships' crews.

The fleet of galleys that went out of Cronstadt consisted of thirty-six galleys, and seventy cantschibasses; a kind of small Turkish craft, which may each be reckoned to contain a crew of fourscore men and a month's provisions for them.

The generals who commanded this squadron under the marshal Lacy were the general Lewaschew, the lieutenant-generals Brilly and count Soltikoff, and the major-generals Wèdel, Lapouchin, and Stuart. There were embarked on board of it nine regiments of infantry and eight companies of grenadiers of the regiments in garrison at Wyburg, Petersburg, and Cronstadt. There were also put on board 200 Cossacks of the Don, with their horses, to serve occasionally upon incursions into the enemy's country.

The marshal divided his fleet into three squadrons. The van, which hoisted a blue flag, was commanded by general Lewaschew, lieutenant-general Brilly, and major-general Wedel, and consisted of three regiments of foot and three companies of grenadiers. Marshal Lacy, in the centre, carried a white flag, having with him major-general Lapouchin, three regiments of foot, and two companies of grenadiers. The rear-division, commanded by count Soltikoff and major-general Stuart, carried the red flag, and had on board three regiments of foot, and three companies of grenadiers.

It was this fleet that marshal Lacy put in motion on the 19th of May, to advance towards the Swedish provinces; but as Russia meant, in this campaign, to act with all the maritime forces she could muster, they continued at Petersburg to build more galleys; and when these were finished, more troops were embarked in them, which joined the army, as will be shown in its place.

On the side of Sweden there were also some preparatory arrangements made. A body of troops was assembled at Torno, with which it was intended to invade Finland. Lieutenant-general Stoffeln was opposed to them with a large body of dragoons and Cossacks, who could not be taken on board the galleys. He managed to keep the enemy so well in check, that during the whole campaign they could not attempt any considerable operation.

The Swedish fleet can get out of its ports a month sooner than that of Russia, and had accordingly by the beginning of April already put to sea. The Swedes made several little descents on the coasts of Finland and on the isle of Aland, where they carried off some Russian guards and escorts, and burnt part of the timber which general Keith had caused to be collected for the building some galleys. He had already had six put on the stocks at

Abo, which were all of them finished in the month of July.

General Keith, wishing to hinder the enemy from making any progress, sent an order to lieutenant-general Chroutscheff and to major-general Bratke to embark as soon as possible, with the regiments they had at Helsingfors and at Fredericsham, on board the twenty-one galleys which had been left there the preceding year.

I shall speak elsewhere of what Keith executed with the troops under his orders, and now relate without interruption what passed most worthy of note in the squadron of marshal Lacy till its junction with that of Keith.

Contrary winds had hindered Lacy from advancing as quickly as he could have wished; and the sea in the vicinity of the shore being still covered with ice in several places, the troops suffered a great deal by the cold.

On the 27th the galleys had got near to Fredericsham, where there had been established a large magazine of ammunition and forage. Two regiments were in garrison there, under the command of colonel Karkettel. The marshal ordered the sick to be sent ashore, and took in their room 100 grenadiers of the regiments in garrison. The fleet was stopped there till the 31st by contrary winds, and the marshal was the more vexed at this delay, as he had received advices from General Keith that the enemy was very near him, and that not improbably he might at any hour come to an engagement with the Swedish squadron.

On June 2nd Lacy's squadron arrived at Helsingfors. The channel between this town and that of Fredericsham is in some parts extremely narrow, not wider than eight or ten fathoms, between rocks, so that the galleys can only proceed in a line one after another, and require excellent piloting to avoid striking every moment on the sands or

rocks. It is impossible to wonder enough at the Swedes having abandoned these channels the last year without making the least resistance; the more especially as they held the whole coast, and the Russians had no pilots. If they had merely sunk a few old ships, it would have stopped the Russian army for several days.* To return: Helsingfors had no kind of fortifications, and then was not even walled. The whole town consists of about 300 houses, tolerably well built in the manner of that country. But the port is the very best in Finland; it can very conveniently hold as many as 150 ships, which may be got out and in with any wind. Before the Russians took Helsingfors there were not so much as batteries to defend the entrances of the port. They erected four, which they demolished when they restored the town.

The marshal took 200 men of the garrison, and embarked them in the gallies, in place of the sick he left behind. Colonel Breven commanded there, having two regiments of foot under his orders.

The troops received flour here for fifteen days more, so that the army was provided with bread till the 15th of July. Advice came that general Keith had had an action with the Swedish galleys, and obtained the victory. This news was the more agreeable, as in the army the contrary result had been apprehended. The marshal thereupon caused the *Te Deum* to be sung on the 5th in the morning, and in the afternoon proceeded with his fleet.

On leaving the port of Helsingfors there was established, for the first time in this campaign, an advanced guard of two galleys and four cantschibasses. The wind was very fair, and the fleet ran above sixteen French leagues in less than six hours' time. Towards the evening the galleys

* The last two sentences are only found in the French edition.

got to a place called Parkala, where there is a good natural port, that might very well contain as many as 100 galleys.

On the 6th the fleet, in the course of the morning, made twelve French leagues, as far as Barrasound. In the way to it there is a channel of about 1500 paces in length, so extremely narrow, that in several parts it is with great difficulty a single galley can be got through without striking upon the rocks. In the afternoon they advanced ten leagues farther to Swart-ouva, where the marshal had intelligence that the Swedish fleet, consisting of eighteen sail, ships of the line and frigates, were stationed near Hangouth, to hinder his galleys from passing on and joining those of Keith. Lacy, however, kept on his course with his fleet for five leagues farther, to Tweermunde, which is but four leagues distant from Hangouth, and from which they could distinctly see the Swedish fleet at anchor there.

Marshal Lacy, accompanied by all the generals, went to reconnoitre the fleet. They observed that two of the ships were lying exactly in the line which would be taken by the galleys, if they held on their course. The sea near Hangouth has depth enough for ships of the greatest burthen to lie close to the shore.

On the 8th a grand council of war was held, to consider all possible expedients for obliging the enemy to abandon the advantageous position he was occupying, but in vain. At length it was resolved to wait for the Russian fleet, and see whether it could not by an engagement force the Swedes to leave the channel free. Towards the evening M. de Gollowin, a captain in the fleet, arrived, and brought advice to the marshal that the admiral Gollowin, with the Russian fleet, was not at above ten leagues' distance from the enemy, and was

making dispositions to attack him as soon as circumstances would permit and a good occasion should offer. But this good occasion never came, and the galleys remained in the same place till the 18th of June. The marshal grew terribly tired of this uneasy situation. He sent repeated orders to count Gollowin to attack the Swedes, but without inducing the other to obey him. The admiral continually found new excuses to avoid coming to an engagement. One of the reasons he alleged was, that in the regulations of the naval service by Peter I. it was ordered, that the Russian fleet should not give battle to the Swedes, unless with three Russian ships to two of the Swedes; and as they had not at present more than seventeen against twelve, there was one short of the number prescribed. Councils of war were frequently held; the generals went every day to the neighbouring islands to reconnoitre the enemy, but without being any the forwarder for it. The two fleets of ships-of-war were at anchor at the distance of two leagues from each other. That of Sweden lay between the Russian ships and the galleys. The marshal from time to time made some movements with his galleys, but all to no purpose.

During the stay that the galleys made at Tweermunde the army received a reinforcement of five regiments of foot, which major-general Karaoulow brought, on board 14 galleys and 18 cantschibasses, newly built at Petersburg. So that after this junction, the flotilla under the marshal consisted of 48 galleys and 98 cantschibasses. The new comers were distributed among the three squadrons.

On June 18th, in the morning, the marshal, at the requisition of admiral Gollowin, sent 14 cantschibasses to the Russian fleet. The admiral wanted, it seems, to take the soldiers out of them, to strengthen the crews of his

ships, after which, as he said, he should attack the enemy. As soon as the Swedish fleet saw this movement of the cantschibasses it weighed anchor and got under sail, to hinder the cantschibasses from joining the ships. The Russian fleet did the same. Both stood off to sea, and there seemed good hopes of a naval engagement; but neither party had any mind for fighting. There were only a few guns fired on each side, and night coming on, both fleets separated without either having any cause to boast the least advantage. That of the Russians set sail for Hochland, an island not far from Revel, where it remained quiet till the conclusion of the peace, and that of the Swedes sailed for Carlscrona, where it rested from all the labours it had undergone.

Meanwhile Lacy, seeing that the two ships which had been stationed precisely athwart the channel near Hangouth had quitted that position, did not let a moment escape in taking advantage of the enemy's removal; and, having given the signal for advancing the instant he saw the enemy begin to move, he doubled the cape of Hangouth with his galleys. Towards evening there was a great fog, that entirely concealed his movements from the enemies' ships [which the Russians could no longer have seen but at a great distance]. On the 23rd the marshal arrived with the fleet at Soutonga, where he found general Keith with his squadron most advantageously posted.

Keith gave the marshal a narrative of the operations of his squadron, of which I here subjoin an abstract.

On May 16th general Keith received advice from lieutenant-general Chroutscheff that he had embarked with his men on board the sixteen galleys at Helsingfors, and was arrived with his squadron and the two prahms off Hangouth. Upon this the general immediately left Abo, and on the 17th joined those galleys to the north of Han-

gouth. The same day he held a council of war, at which were present the principal officers of the navy and the commanding officers of regiments. It was there unanimously resolved, that since they had a force equal to that of the enemy, they should seek him out and give him battle as soon as possible, without waiting for major-general Bratke, who had not as yet joined with the five galleys from Fredericsham. The order was thereon given to prepare for action, and to be ready for advancing as soon as the signal should be made. West-north-west of them they heard the evening gun of the enemy, who might be about four leagues distant. On the 18th Keith left Hangouth with his galleys, in calm weather, so that he did not get on much, being obliged to have the prahms towed by the galleys; besides which, it was necessary to proceed constantly with great caution, on account of the rocks and shallows in several places off that coast. One of the prahms struck upon a rock, and it took a great deal of time to get her off. Towards the evening the squadron came to an anchor out at sea, not having advanced that day above a Swedish mile.*

In the evening there was heard the report of two guns; and a Swedish brigantine was seen cruising about a mile off the Russian galleys.

May 19th: the squadron proceeded in the morning with a fair wind, but as they were still obliged to tow the prahms, it did not forward them much. At eight the galley of the vanguard made a signal of seeing the enemy. The general in his galley went to reconnoitre them. He viewed them at anchor about a mile's distance from him, and made a signal for the whole squadron to advance; but

* The English edition adds "or much about two French leagues." This is an error, and probably an interpolation of the translator. See above, p. 303.

when he had got to half a mile off them, they made sail, and passed between two islands, by a channel in which there was not water enough for the prahms, so that he was obliged to steer to the left and turn the island to come at the enemy. But the wind having suddenly shifted to the north-west, blew so hard, that there was no towing the prahms; and the general came to an anchor near Hitischapel.

May 20th: the contrary wind continued till noon, when it fell calm. The squadron weighed anchor; but had scarce made a league of way, when the wind came on again directly in their teeth. This obliged the general to close in with the land. A detachment of a hundred men in six shallops was sent to get positive intelligence of the enemy, and to seek for pilots; those whom they had hitherto had having come to the end of their knowledge of the course; and it is nearly impossible to proceed a foot among those rocks without the hazard of running aground every moment, if one has not on board people of the country acquainted with the coast.

May 21st: the squadron weighed anchor at three in the morning, the weather being calm, and at noon arrived at Jungfern sound, which is an extremely narrow passage between two islands. The shallops rejoined the fleet there, but without having found any pilots, all the villages having been deserted by the inhabitants. The men brought word, that on coming out of Jungfern sound, they had seen a Swedish sail, which had retreated on their approach. Towards the evening a shallop of the enemy's was seen cruising about a mile from the vanguard.

May 22nd: the squadron was under way very early in the morning, the weather being calm, and before noon had got on three miles; but a contrary wind springing up obliged them to come to an anchor. Some shallops

were again sent to look for pilots. One of them brought off a Swedish gunner, who had been by neglect left upon an island. He declared that the enemy's squadron consisted of fifteen galleys and as many *arpins* (light vessels that carry ten small guns), and a double shallop; that they expected in a few days a reinforcement of two galleys and one prahm; moreover, that there were fitting out in Sweden eight more galleys, which might be on their way. The other boats, which returned towards the evening, brought advice that they had found a galley of the enemy's a mile from the fleet, but that it retreated on their approach.

On the 23rd the general gave a fresh order for the galleys to get everything clear for engaging. In the morning six long-boats and a cantschibass were sent on to reconnoitre the enemy and sound the channel. At noon the squadron got under way, and had scarce made half a league before they saw the enemy giving chase to the boats with a galley and two double shallops. The galleys of the advanced guard made all sail and plied their oars to come up in support; which the enemy seeing, retreated behind a small island. The main squadron could not make much way, the wind being contrary.

They discovered the Swedish rear-guard, consisting of three galleys and some small boats. The general detached against them four galleys and all the shallops, and as soon as they saw these make towards them, they bore away, firing three guns for a signal to their fleet, which was at anchor about a league and a half from them. On this the Russian galleys took up the station that the Swedes had just quitted, and gave notice to the general that the enemy was retreating.

On the 24th advice came that the Swedes were at Corpo, where they had been joined by their prahms; and the next

day major-general Bratke arrived with the five galleys that had wintered at Fredericsham. He had suffered much by contrary winds and storms, having even lost the mainmast of his own galley.

Keith now divided his fleet into three squadrons, giving the van-guard to the lieutenant-general, and the rear to the major-general, reserving the centre for himself.

On the 26th, at break of day, they saw the Swedish admiral's flag and some masts of the other vessels; of which, however, they could not ascertain the number, as they were posted among the islands. The general instantly gave the signal for attack; but scarce were the anchors weighed, when the enemy retreated towards Aland. A lieutenant of the navy was immediately detached with ten shallops and a cantschibass, supported by two galleys, to follow and reconnoitre. He reported, on his return, that he had seen seventeen galleys, one half-galley, one galliot, and two smacks, all armed; and that the admiral brought up the rear, plying his oars, on account of the contrary wind. The Russian squadron now took up its station near a village called Corpo. The islands thereabouts form a very good harbour, where the galleys might lie sheltered from any storm.

Keith learnt from the inhabitants along the coast, and from the spies, that the enemy was waiting for large reinforcements from Sweden, and that the vice-admiral Falkengruen, who commanded their galleys, had a positive order to attack him. As therefore the contrary winds and stormy weather did not allow him to quit the station where he then was, he made all the necessary dispositions for a good defence. The two prahms were posted opposite the mouth of the harbour, and a battery of four guns was raised on the right of it, to aid in defending the entrance.

He remained in this situation till the 29th, when the sentinels of the advanced guard, who were posted on the top of the rocks, gave notice that the enemy's fleet was in motion. The general upon this went himself up a hill to reconnoitre in person the dispositions of the enemy. He saw that the Swedish galleys were coming against him in three divisions. He ordered the alarm to be beaten, and drew up his galleys in order of battle [according as the situation would allow him]. At eleven in the morning the enemy formed in one line, over against the Russians, at about 1500 fathoms distance, and there came to an anchor.

During the 30th the two fleets remained opposite to each other, it not being possible to attempt any the least thing that day for the bad weather. On the 31st the wind was much abated, and they saw several Swedish galleys coming out from behind the islands, where they had on the preceding day taken shelter from the storm. At noon some signals were made with rockets from the Swedish prahm; from which a few minutes afterwards some guns were fired by way of trying the range of their shot. The balls fell near the land-battery (which was about 100 fathoms in advance of the Russian prahms); but, as they did not reach the vessels, the Swedish admiral ordered his prahm to be towed farther in by boats. At three in the afternoon the whole Swedish fleet, consisting of eighteen galleys, the prahm, and several small vessels, were seen advancing in a line towards the mouth of the harbour. At four they were not above a good cannon-shot distant. The officers who commanded on board the Russian prahms entreated leave of the general to fire upon them; but he positively forbade them, not intending a single gun to be fired till the enemy was within musket-shot. But when, a minute afterwards,

he saw that the Swedish prahm was coming to an anchor, and preparing to bring its broadside to bear, he ordered two guns to be fired from the upper tier of his own prahms; one of the shot from which passed over the Swede, and the other struck it on the poop. Upon this trial Keith commanded all the guns to open upon the enemy. Part of his own galleys he withdrew, as there was not room enough for them to act, and he himself took his post in the land-battery, whence he could better observe the movements, [the battery being, as I have before observed, nearer to the enemy by 100 fathoms than were the vessels].

The Swedes, who were formed in line of battle before the mouth of the harbour, were able to employ the fire of their whole fleet against the Russians, whereas these could only bring to bear upon them the guns of the two prahms and three galleys. However, after two hours' smart firing on each side, the Swedish admiral's galley was obliged to withdraw out of the line and bear away for shelter at the back of an island that was on its right. Soon after, their prahm did the same behind an island on its left. The centre ships stood it some time longer; but having now the whole fire to bear, which had before been shared with the prahm, they also retreated; and at seven in the evening the firing had totally ceased. Keith would not have failed to pursue the enemy had the wind not blown right into the mouth of the harbour, so that it was impossible to get out; but some armed boats and a cantschibass were sent to give chase to the small vessels that were yet hovering about. The Russians in this action had one officer and six soldiers or marines killed, and eight wounded.

On June 1st, at break of day, news came that the enemy had entirely retreated in the night, and were

already out of sight. Upon this two shallops were detached to get farther intelligence about them, and returned with advice that they had seen them at anchor near Rocksheera, about five miles from the place of action. The whole day was employed in repairing the prahms, which had received several cannon-shot between wind and water. There was also a necessity for refitting two of the galleys, which had received much damage; one especially, which had sprung a great leak, caused by the concussion of the guns it had fired.

The town of Abo, where the ministers were assembled for the congress, is not above seven or eight miles distant from the village of Corpo, so that the report of every gun that was fired by the combatants might be plainly enough heard, which must naturally have caused great anxiety to the ministers on both sides, each heart fluctuating between hope and fear of the issue of the engagement. Keith kept them twenty-four hours more than he needed in this irksome suspense; on which the Swedish plenipotentiaries, not conceiving it probable that the Russian general would have kept back the news of a Swedish defeat so long, were beginning to crow for victory, when Keith's aide-de-camp arrived with a circumstantial account of the combat.

On the 2nd the general held a council of war, in which it was resolved to pursue the enemy as soon as the damaged galleys were refitted, and attack him on the very first opportunity. [In those waters there was found an anchor, with fifty fathoms of cable, which the enemy had cut on the day of battle.]

On June 4th, everything being in order again, Keith got under way with his galleys, and having proceeded about three miles, there was heard the report of a gun from the Swedish fleet, which was judged to be about two miles off. Two hours afterwards there were two

more guns heard very near, and presently the Swedish fleet was discovered at anchor at the back of an island, about a league off the Russians. The general instantly gave the signal for attack, and the three divisions or squadrons drew up in order of battle; but while they were forming the enemy set sail and bore away. The Russian fleet crowded sail to come up with them; but, after having got on about a mile, it arrived at a place where there was not more than eleven foot water; so that the prahms, being above that draught, were obliged to come to an anchor; while the galleys, keeping their order, got into a very convenient harbour formed by the islands. The place is called Soutonga.

There was the more reason for the Russians being surprised at the retreat of the Swedes, as it was known that on the very day after the action they had been reinforced by a frigate and some galleys, so that their fleet was altogether superior to that of Russia. Some time afterwards it came out, that the small victualling boats of the Russians had been the occasion of their panic; for the weather being fair, all these small craft had spread their canvas, and kept following the fleet, and the enemy, who saw the whole sea covered with sails, imagined that marshal Lacy with his fleet had joined Keith [and that consequently they themselves were too weak to hazard a fresh engagement].

Keith having surveyed the situation of the place where he had posted himself with his galleys, judged it so advantageous, that he determined to fortify it, and there wait the junction of the marshal. He had accordingly seven batteries built, of four or five guns each, to defend the different entrances of the port.

On June 8th, the weather being fair, and favourable for the prahms getting over the shoals, some boats took them in

tow and brought them safe to that entrance of the harbour which faced the enemy, and there they were stationed. In this situation Keith remained till the arrival of marshal Lacy. Meanwhile, to keep the enemy in awe, and to make them believe he was reinforced, he made a galliot, which had brought [from Abo] provisions for the troops, hoist a broad pendant* such as the men-of-war carry. He also barred the left-hand entrance into the harbour by a triple cable, to keep out the enemy on that side. In short, he made the best dispositions possible for giving the Swedes a warm reception in case of attack.

The Swedes, who were not at above three-quarters of a league distance from them, threw up also, on their part, several batteries on the islands behind which they had posted themselves. From time to time, too, they made movements as if they would return to the attack [but without ever attempting anything]. To deprive the Russians of all means of intelligence about them, they had ordered the inhabitants of the islands to retire into Sweden. Some of them had obeyed, but the greatest part, especially those of Aland, had only quitted their houses and taken refuge in the woods.

Marshal Lacy, as I have before mentioned, arrived on the 23rd of June with his fleet at Soutonga. At four in the evening the advanced guard gave notice that the enemy's fleet had weighed anchor and was making off. On this the marshal ordered Keith to proceed with his squadron, and post himself in the station that the enemy had quitted, and the next day followed himself with the fleet.

On the 25th he went with the generals of the army to reconnoitre the islands. They found on one of them a

* "Des banderoles et des flâmes."

soldier, who had been left behind through negligence. He showed them from a hill the enemy's fleet at two leagues distance. Some of the vessels were at anchor, some already under sail. But from that day forward no vessel of the enemy was seen; for their galleys returned straight to Stockholm, where they arrived very opportunely to put down the revolt of the Dalecarlians, of which I shall soon have occasion to make farther mention.

The Russian galleys advanced that day as far as Degerby [one of the islands near Aland], and on the 26th a council of war was held, in which it was resolved to proceed as far as Rouden-ham, which is the last island of the Scheers of Finland, and with the first fair wind to stand for the coast of Sweden, and there make descents. Major-general Bratke was detached, with six battalions upon twelve galleys and some cantschibasses, to escort several vessels loaded with provisions for the troops at Ester-Bothnia, under the command of lieutenant-general Stoffeln, provisions being extremely scarce in those parts. The Swedes had been actually obliged to withdraw for want of subsistence, and the Russians could hardly maintain themselves there.

On the 27th and 28th it blew so hard, that the fleet could not stir from where it lay. [Some cantschibasses and boats, which had been sent on the look-out, returned with the report that they had seen no more of the enemy's fleet, which had borne away for the coast of Sweden.]

On the 29th the marshal had already given the signal for getting under way, when he received letters from the Russian ministers at the congress of Abo, in which it was notified to him that the preliminaries of peace had been signed the day before, and that they had agreed upon an armistice [so that they insinuated to the marshal not

to undertake anything farther]. Upon this the galleys returned to the same station which they had just quitted, where they remained till the latter end of August, and then made the best of their way back to Russia.

It is now time I should say something of the state of affairs in Sweden.

The diet of Stockholm had continued a year, and was principally taken up with electing a successor to the crown. Several competitors had declared themselves; to wit, the prince royal of Denmark, the prince of Holstein, bishop of Lubeck, the prince Frederic of Hesse-Cassel, and the duke of Deux-ponts. Each of these princes had his party, but the two strongest were that of the prince of Holstein, backed as he was by Russia, and that of the prince royal of Denmark, who could give great assistance to Sweden in its war against Russia, in consequence of which his party was the most numerous. It had even been decided, that if peace was not made before the 4th of July, he should on that day be declared hereditary prince of Sweden. This it was that greatly contributed to the signature of the preliminaries at the congress of Abo; but as a great deal of time had been wasted in disputing, there remained, when the articles were signed, no more than six days of the term prefixed. Lieutenant-colonel Lingen, in the Swedish service, was sent with this news to Stockholm; and as he was particularly charged not to lose a moment, he took the shortest way, which was to cross the isle of Aland; but when he had landed there, he found that all the inhabitants had left their houses, and were fled to the woods, so that he was obliged to walk several leagues on foot along the shore. At length he met with an old man, owning an old crazy boat full of leaks. Having no time to lose in looking out for another, he was forced to resolve upon making

use of that, at the risk of drowning. Having, with his servant and the old man, got into the boat, two of the three were obliged to row, while the third had enough to do to keep baleing the water out with his hat, and even with that he could scarce keep the boat free. Lingen even employed some shirts he had in his portmanteau to cram into the leaks; however, at last, they had the luck to get safe to Sweden, and Lingen reached Stockholm on the very day that they were to proceed to the election of the prince of Denmark. The wretched boat that had served to bring him from Aland to the coast of Sweden is kept to this day at Stockholm, and shown as a curiosity. [Certain it is, that it may be considered as a kind of miracle, the good fortune Lingen had, to make a passage of twelve Swedish miles (seventy-two English) over the sea, in a boat on which few in the world would have ventured to cross the narrowest river.]

The arrival of colonel Lingen at Stockholm changed the whole face of affairs in Sweden. The Russians, who had been the mortal enemies of the Swedes, were now become their friends, their allies, their support; while the Danes, whose prince they had so recently proposed to seat upon the throne after the death of their king, became in turn their greatest enemy. The fleet of Russian galleys, which had put to sea with the object of laying waste the coasts of Sweden, was obliged to stay for some time on its frontiers, to quiet the domestic disturbances of that country, and be at hand to assist the Swedes in case they were attacked by Denmark.

The king of Denmark being informed that a great party opposed the election of the prince his son, managed to engage in his interest several Swedish provinces. That of Dalecarlia was the first that declared itself; the peasants of which, some thousands strong, headed by [one Scheding,

who had been formerly a soldier in the service of Russia, and by] De Wrangel, who was major of the Dalecarlia regiment, marched straight to Stockholm, and there attempted to lay down the law. There was a regiment of guards encamped in front of the town, of which it was designed to make use for reducing these rioters to reason; but the soldiers refused to act against their countrymen, and even suffered them to take their cannon from them without resistance. The king and several senators went out to try to appease them, but they would not listen to reason. At last they were promised all the satisfaction they could desire, and were persuaded to enter the town, where they were dispersed in different quarters, which was the cause of their misfortune. Some days after there was a great tumult in the town, and count Adlerfeldt [attempting to harangue and appease the Dalecarlians] was killed. The guards were again commanded to march against the rioters, and again the soldiers refused to obey. By singular good fortune the galleys came that very day into the port of Stockholm; some troops were immediately landed, and, knowing nothing of what had passed, made no difficulty of going against and dispersing the revolted peasants. The ringleaders were seized; Scheding, one of the principal, had his head cut off, and Wrangel was degraded from his rank and nobility, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment. The others returned home.

If this affair had not been crushed in the bud, the revolt would soon have become general; the provinces of Upland, Surmaland, Smäland, and Scania had been on the point of also declaring themselves; but as the expedition of the Dalecarlians had succeeded so ill, the others took care not to break out. However, half of Sweden remained for a long time in the interest of the king

of Denmark. [This went so far, that when general Keith was arrived some little time afterwards at Stockholm, one of his aides-de-camp, whom he sent with some special despatches as a courier, being taken for a Danish officer, because he wore a red coat, the post-master desired him to be on his guard against the contrary party.]

The articles of the peace concluded at Abo between Russia and Sweden, contained in substance, that Sweden should cede to Russia, in perpetuity, the province of Kymenagor and the district of Nyslot in the province of Savalax in Finland; and that the river Kymen should form the frontier, to be regulated in detail by commissaries appointed by the two courts. The settlement of the affair of the frontier has been going on for several years without being finished.

The prince of Holstein, bishop of Lubeck, was elected successor to the kingdom of Sweden, for himself and his descendants. [It was the court of Russia that had principally contributed to carry the election, and consequently assumed it as a right to intermeddle more than ever in the affairs of Sweden, and even to prescribe laws to that kingdom; but the Swedes soon freed themselves from this grievance, and the misunderstandings began afresh before a twelvemonth was past.*]

After the peace had been published to the army, the marshal had orders to send back the troops that were in Finland, and general Keith was dispatched to Abo to regulate their march. Lieutenant-general Stoffeln, who had advanced with the body of troops under his command

* In the place of this sentence, the French edition has, — "Russia then believed that this election would put her in a position to treat Sweden as a dependency of the Russian empire. Subsequent events showed that she was deceived."

as far as Ulo, had orders to return, and little by little the regiments took their way back to Russia. But, before they quitted Finland, they took care to squeeze from it everything they could; the intention of the court being to ruin that province so completely, that it should not be able for a long time to hold up its head again; and the generals had orders not to fail to attend to this point.* The empress, however, feigning a desire of restoring relations of harmony with her neighbours, ordered some thousands of bushels of grain out of the magazines [which had been established in Finland] to be distributed to the peasants of Finland for sowing their grounds.

The disturbances of the Dalecarlians being appeased, it was imagined that Sweden had recovered its tranquillity, and marshal Lacy had orders from the court to return with the galleys to Petersburg. Towards the latter end of August he quitted the island of Degerby, where his squadron had lain two months.

On the 14th of September the fleet of galleys arrived at a place called Berosowa-Ostrow (*Birch island*), at ninety wersts, or twenty-three leagues distance from Petersburg. From thence count Lacy dispatched his aide-de-camp to court for orders as to when and in what manner he should make his entry before the capital with his fleet.

On September 17th the fleet suffered a severe storm, which drove six galleys ashore. They were entirely ruined, and two others greatly damaged, but no lives were lost, all the troops being ashore. On the 20th the marshal had orders to send back general Keith with thirty galleys to Helsingfors, where he was to wait for fresh instructions;

* See other instances of this cruel policy, pp. 92. 145.

and the next day Keith took his departure, having on board of his squadron a regiment of grenadiers, composed of ten detached companies, and eighteen battalions of foot, making in all 11,000 men. The generals who commanded under him were, lieutenant-general count Soltikoff, and the major-generals Lapouchin and Stuart.

The empress sent her own yacht to marshal Lacy to bring him to court. He left the command in general Lewaschew's hands, and set out for Petersburg, where some days afterwards the fleet of galleys also arrived. The court caused great rejoicings to be made for the celebration of the peace. There were feasts and entertainments for several days together; and after the troops had delivered up the galleys to the admiralty, they were sent into winter-quarters.

I now return to the expedition under general Keith, and to what gave occasion for it.

The revolt of the Dalecarlians had, it is true, been quieted, but it was not entirely quelled. The king of Denmark had caused several bodies of troops to advance to the frontiers of Sweden; and as he had partisans in many of the provinces, an invasion from him was much apprehended. It was this that induced the king and senate of Sweden to request prompt aid from the court of Petersburg, both to oppose the Danes and to completely pacify the intestine commotions.

General During was, for this purpose, sent to Petersburg. The court of Russia was too well pleased to give a fresh proof of its power, to neglect this opportunity. It was moreover its interest to support the election which had taken place in favour of the prince of Holstein. Accordingly general Keith had orders to repair to Sweden. His instructions contained, in substance, that he was to

make the best of his way thither with the 11,000 men under his command, and on his arrival to be solely dependent for his orders on the king; that he was to make the reports of his corps direct to the empress, and, as Russia had no minister at Stockholm, that he was at the same time to exercise the functions of that office.

The troops under his orders suffered much from cold and storms before he reached the coasts of Sweden; and the Russian galleys, which never used to keep the sea later than the beginning of September, were obliged to remain on it till the latter end of November.

Any other general than Keith would hardly have been able to execute this commission. He had not only to contend with wind and weather, but also with the naval officers, who were often representing to him the impossibility of proceeding in so severe a season. But Keith, who had served on board the galleys of Spain [where he had seen that the galleys in that country could keep the sea in all weathers], and knew better than any of the officers in that squadron how much could be done where there was a good will, persisted in his solitary opinion. He received indeed the representations of the others made in writing, put them into his pocket without reading them, and gave the signal for sailing on. In this manner, on the 23rd of October *, he arrived on the coast of Sweden, at Sarmund. He left his galleys in the port, and repaired to Stockholm, where he received the orders for the distribution of his troops in winter-quarters, to which lieutenant-general count Soltikoff was to take them. But

* The English edition has "on the 4th November," which appears to be a correction made by the translator, on the supposition of the dates being according to the Russian calendar. But in the account of the conquest of the Crimea, Manstein's dates are correct according to the reckoning of western Europe, and it is therefore to be presumed they are so here.

as those quarters were assigned along the coast in Sudermania and Oster-Gothia, and it was wished to spare the country the expense of furnishing transport for their baggage, the galleys were required for this service; but the season was so much advanced they could not get far. The regiments were, however, forced to stay on board till the beginning of December, when they were landed at Staake, a little harbour four miles distant from Stockholm. The country was then obliged to furnish carriages, and the troops marched into the quarters assigned them. They were distributed in the following manner: the regiment of grenadiers was at Nykoping, two regiments at Sudkoping, three at Norkoping, and two in Oster Gothia.* The galleys were left at Staake, with two regiments that had their quarters in the neighbourhood to guard them.

The Russian troops remained in Sweden till the month of June 1744, when [the differences between Sweden and Denmark having been by that time amicably adjusted] Keith had orders to return to Russia. His voyage back was more easy, and on the 13th of August he arrived at Revel with his fleet. During his stay in Sweden successful efforts were made to reconcile the differences existing between the courts of Stockholm and Copenhagen. The affair was not quite concluded when the Swedes became impatient of the yoke which Russia wished to impose upon them, and took several steps which were distasteful to the court of Petersburg. General Keith had orders to keep a close watch over what they did, and in case of the Danes making an irruption into the provinces, not to march against them, but to take up a position with his corps in the environs of Stockholm. He was then to declare, that he had only come to Sweden to quell the

* This sentence is only found in the French edition.

domestic commotions, not to fight the Danes. So that, if the war had begun, the Russians would have been only spectators.*

Having placed in one view the affairs of Sweden, I now return to those of Russia.

During the last campaign there was discovered at Petersburg a conspiracy against the person of the empress. The marquis de Botta, who had been minister of the queen of Hungary at the court of Petersburg, appeared to be the life and soul of the plot. The principal persons concerned were, Lapouchin, commissary-general of the marine; his wife, who had been the mistress of count Loewenwolde; madame Bestucheff, sister-in-law to the high-chancellor, and own sister to count Golofkin; lieutenant-colonel Lapouchin [son to the commissary]; a chamberlain called Lilienfeld, and his wife; with some other persons of less consequence. Madame Lapouchin, one of the most beautiful women of her time, and madame Bestucheff, who was devotedly attached to her own family, could not bear to think, the one of her lover, the other of her brother languishing in exile.†

These persons had in their assemblies said all the harm imaginable of the empress, and had tried more than one means for finding some one to take the lead in an attempt at another revolution: it was even said, that they had bribed a domestic of the empress to assassinate her; but as it is only upon hearsay that I mention this, I should be loth to assert it for a truth. The marquis de Botta, who had been recalled from Russia and sent to Berlin, was, as I said, in correspondence with the conspirators. He had begun the intrigue by order of his court before

* The last five sentences are only found in the French edition.

† This sentence is only found in the French edition.

he left Petersburg; and had induced the parties concerned to hope that not only the queen of Hungary, but the king of Prussia also would second the affair. He named the latter openly in all his letters, although that prince was in ignorance of the matter, and assured them that his majesty wished nothing so much as to see the empress dethroned, and his brother-in-law and nephew return from exile.*

The imprudence of the lieutenant-colonel Lapouchin was the cause of all being discovered, he having, in the company of several officers, drank the health of the young emperor, and said many shocking things on the conduct of the empress. There were not wanting in the company some who, to make their fortune, made a point of repeating all that they had heard. A major named Falkenberg, and one Berger, a cornet of the cuirassiers, carried the first information to count Lestock, who gave them the cue to connect themselves more closely with Lapouchin, in order to get the whole secret out of him. The trap succeeded without trouble. All the conspirators were seized and tried. Lapouchin and his wife, his son, and madame Bestucheff had the knout, their tongues were cut out, and they were all sent to Siberia.

This affair had like to have embroiled the courts of Vienna and Petersburg; but the queen of Hungary having disavowed all that her minister had said and done in the matter, and having gained over Bestucheff, he managed things so dexterously, that the two courts became greater friends than ever they had been. To give some satisfaction to the empress, the marquis de Botta was recalled from Berlin, and confined in a fortress for some months.

After the publication of the peace with Sweden, it

* Prince Antony Ulric was brother of Christina, queen of Prussia.

had been designed to send the troops into the interior of the empire, and distribute them among the provinces, but the affairs between Sweden and Denmark that supervened retarded the execution of this project. The greatest part of the infantry had quarters assigned them in the neighbourhood of Petersburg, and in Livonia, and all the regiments had orders to hold themselves in readiness for marching the next spring. Ever since that time Russia has maintained in Finland, in Ingria, in Livonia, and in Courland, an army of above 120,000 men, including the garrisons of the different places there.

In the beginning of the year 1744 the court went to Moscow, and in February the princess of Zerbst came there, with the princess her daughter, whom she brought to be married to the grand-duke. The empress, who much wished to see her nephew married, likewise desired that he should have for his bride a German princess.* She cast her eyes first of all on the princess Amelia, sister of the king of Prussia, and sent orders to her minister at Berlin to open himself upon this point to the Prussian ministry. But the king, who had no mind to send off his sister to Russia, contrived to elude the proposal, and at the same time to get up the match for the princess of Zerbst, who [being a near relation to the grand-duke] did not refuse so great an alliance. The affair was presently concluded. Her mother brought her to Moscow, where she embraced the Greek religion, and in 1745 was married to the grand-duke.

Some time after the arrival of the princess of Zerbst at

* From here the English edition proceeds: "She sent orders to her minister at Berlin to open himself upon this point to the minister of Prussia. The king upon this offered to negotiate a match for him with the princess of Zerbst." The princess in question is the famous Catherine II.

the court of Russia, the marquis de la Chetardie had an affair that made a great noise. This minister, who, as I have related above, had borne so great a share in the revolution in favour of the empress, flattered himself, not without reason, that her majesty would retain a grateful sense of all that France had done for her; and in the first months of her reign, there was great room for thinking that the French king's alliance would be preferred to all others. While La Chetardie stayed in Russia he was in fact omnipotent at court, the empress hardly making any distinction between him and her own ministers. But when he was gone, Monsieur d'Allion, who came in his room, had not dexterity enough to pursue what La Chetardie had so well begun, and the influence of France little by little fell to nothing. It was in vain that the French, on occasion of the conspiracy being discovered in which the marquis de Botta had been engaged, flattered themselves that the court of Petersburg might be embroiled with that of Vienna. The high-chancellor was too much in the interests of the house of Austria, and entertained too great an aversion for that of Bourbon, to allow his sentiments to be so easily changed.* He rejected the proposals made by the court of Versailles, and declared himself openly against those who held for France. These, on their part, imagined things would be put on a better footing by procuring the return of La Chetardie. They found an occasion of proposing to the empress that she should request this of the French king; to this she readily consented, so that La Chetardie was sent to Russia. On this, both he himself, and all

* In the place of this sentence the English edition has: "The count of Bestuchef, high chamberlain of Russia, had nevertheless remained firmly persuaded that the alliance of the house of Austria was preferable to that of France, so that he gave no heed to the proposals, &c." See above, page 349.

those of the French party at Moscow, expected no less than soon to see the high-chancellor banished. La Chetardie had made himself so sure of it, that, in his way to Russia by Hamburg and Copenhagen, he had spoken of it as a thing as good as done. Bestucheff being advised of this, was careful to be on his guard; he cut off from La Chetardie all occasions of hurting him, and found means of frustrating all his designs. He set spies upon him, had all his steps watched, and intercepted his letters. In short, he contrived so well to represent to the empress the wrong she would do to herself in sacrificing him to the court of France, seeing that everything he was doing was for her honour, and the greater good of the empire, that the empress became fully convinced of her minister's integrity, and resolved to send back La Chetardie. One morning, very early, general Ouschakoff, adjutant-general to the empress, repaired to his hotel, and signified to him her majesty's order that he should quit Petersburg in two hours' time. Carriages were at hand, and everything that could possibly be necessary for his journey was furnished him. A non-commissioned officer of the guards escorted him to Livonia, where he was, moreover, detained some months. After that he was carried to the frontier, where the ribbon of St. Andrew, and the picture of the empress, which she had given him in the time of his favour, were demanded from him; but none of the jewels were taken that belonged to the ribbon and the picture. Since that affair the courts of France and Russia have mutually entertained a kind of coolness towards each other.

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